

PRICE TEN CENTS

INFORMATION

bulletin

11

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FROM A PARTY OF THE
WORKING CLASS TO A PARTY OF
THE WHOLE SOVIET PEOPLE

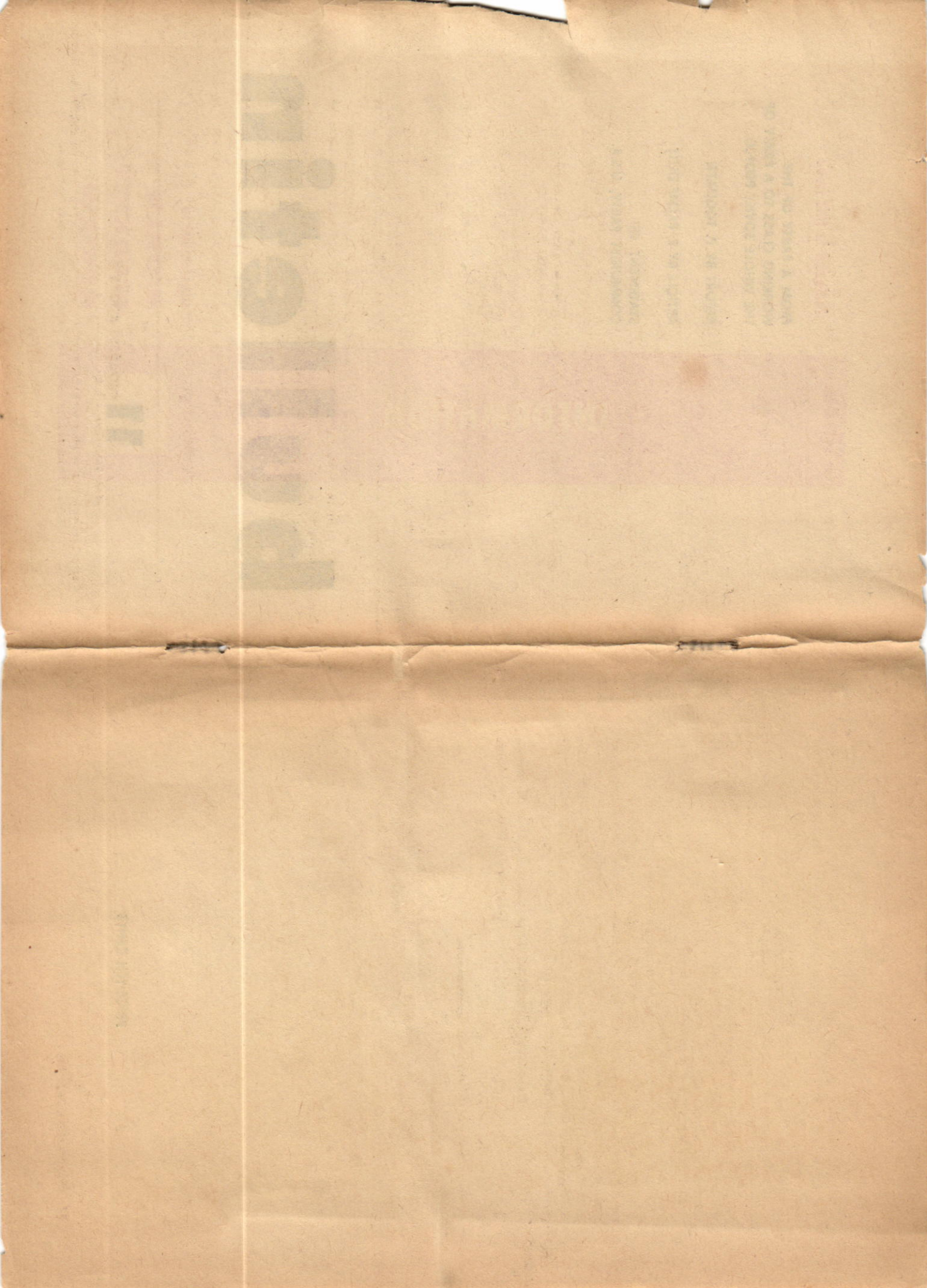
REPORT BY P. TOGLIATTI

ARTICLE BY R. PALME DUTT

STATEMENT OF
COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

supplement to

**WORLD
MARXIST
REVIEW**



demonstrated that the splitters indeed received direct support from the Chinese leaders in their campaign of slander directed against our Party.

Operating from abroad, enjoying support which by no means comes from the fraternal parties upholding the unity of the world Communist movement, and using slanders and fabrications, these elements are not only combating the CPE but are encroaching on the unity of each and all Latin American parties, on the unity of the world Communist movement.

The CPE therefore considers it urgent to issue a call to all members working in the country to bar the way to the disruptive activity of those few splitting elements, both inside and outside the country, who have not yet been fully exposed. We also urge those members who have had to leave the country because of the persecutions by the dictatorship, resolutely to oppose and expose those elements abroad, and to combat the splitters' attacks against the world Communist movement, as in the case of Jose Maria Roura and Jorge Rivadeneira who have been expelled from the Party.

**Executive Committee, Communist Party of Ecuador,
Guayaquil, March 6, 1964.**

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COMMUNIQUE OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF ECUADOR

BAR THE WAY TO SPLITTERS IN THE COUNTRY AND OUTSIDE.

For some time now the Communist Party of Ecuador has been waging a fight against a small group of factionalists headed by Rafael Echeverria, Carlos Rodrigues and Jorge Arrellan who have deliberately placed themselves outside the Party, ignoring its discipline, its political line and the Marxist-Leninist approach to national and international problems.

Their adventurist methods, their inconsistent and unprincipled theses were in too obvious contradiction with the realities of life and, naturally, they were emphatically rejected by all true members of the Party and by the Party as a whole. Seeing their operational base inside the country smashed, they carried their activities beyond its frontiers in an attempt to discredit the Party in the eyes of the fraternal parties and also before the Latin American revolutionary movements. They thereby are objectively playing into the hands of U.S. imperialism which seeks to weaken the fraternal parties of our continent and split the revolutionary movements fighting for the social and national emancipation of our peoples.

Those who use these methods have long shown themselves as a miserable group of petty-bourgeois, adventurist, corrupted and ambitious elements to whom the policy of the Party expressing the interests of the masses is alien and who do not recognize the historical mission of the proletariat and the vanguard role of the Party. These are ambitious opportunists, supporters of Caudillism, who tend to follow pseudo-revolutionary trends. In their activity they have always sought to undermine the Party's influence in the mass movements, and did not hesitate to join hands with the elements expelled from the Party and with its open enemies.

These elements have lost all positions from which they could attack the Party. Hence it was not fortuitous that when differences set in between the leaders of the Communist Party of China and the world Communist movement, they came out as zealous supporters of what they call the "Chinese line", using every opportunity to smear, distort and slander the positions of the CPSU and the CPE. At first we could not believe their boast that their activity had the support of the Communist Party of China—a thing which is inconceivable in the relations between fraternal parties. However, the events that have occurred in our country since June-July 1963

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It is the obligation of Marxist-Leninists to take all necessary measures consistent with principle to re-unify their ranks as speedily as possible.

Therefore, it is our judgment that the earliest convocation of a conference of the representatives of each of the Marxist parties of the respective countries of the world, consistent with adequate preparation, be held to arrive at a consensus concerning the departures from the scientific line of Marxism-Leninism on matters of universal principle and for setting forth the required recommendations for effecting the necessary self-corrections and for the strengthening of the all-round unity of the international Communist movement, of the world working class, and of the fellowship of its respective national parties.

STATEMENT OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has issued a statement on the present-day situation in the international Communist movement, which reads in part:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia discussed at its meetings, notably in December 1963 and March 1964, the situation which has developed in the international Communist movement in connection with the splitting activity of the leaders of the Communist Party of China, who are departing more and more from Marxism-Leninism and have openly set themselves the task of dividing the world revolutionary forces and establishing a factionalist centre in Peking. With a view to achieving hegemony in the world Communist movement the Chinese leaders have worked out an ideological platform which is nothing but revision of the general line of the international Communist movement as laid down in the documents of the Moscow Meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960.

Already at the Bucharest meeting, but especially at the Moscow conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, the delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia opposed the incorrect views of the Chinese leaders. In the statement released in June 1963 the Central Committee of our Party expressed its concern and apprehension with regard to the policy of the Chinese leaders and at the same time it categorically renounced their attacks against the Leninist policy of the CPSU, pointing out that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China would not hesitate to use demagoguery, falsification and slander in order to discredit the policy of the CPSU and other fraternal parties. In due course, the leaders of the CPC deliberately and steadily stepped up their attacks against the fraternal parties. They are pursuing a policy of false charges and subversion against them, impose on them an anti-Leninist line, which today is the main danger to the world-wide revolutionary front, to the international struggle for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

The fact that the Chinese leaders provocatively misinterpret the goodwill of the Marxist-Leninist parties, their calls for an end to the public polemic in the interests of unity, and ascribe them to the lack of arguments of the fear to suffer defeat in the open struggle, only betrays their desire to cause a split. To the numberless proposals of the fraternal parties to halt the public debate the Chinese leaders re-

*Rude Pravo, April 13, 1964

plied by intensifying their hostile and factional activities aimed at dividing the Communist movement and laying down the foundation for their platform on an international scale. For that purpose they are banding together the various anti-Party and Trotskyite elements, all sorts of social scum in the various countries, and are forming factional groups, trying to present them as "new Communist parties".

Objectively they are helping world imperialist reaction, which regards these actions as a welcome aid to its efforts to weaken the activity of the Communists and undermine their prestige and which supports these splitting actions in every way.

The harmful activities of the Chinese leaders have also affected the relations with our Party and even the relations between our countries. That trade between China and us has dwindled is not our fault. The Chinese side was guilty of gross violation of our laws, which led to the closing of the headquarters of the *Hsinghua News Agency* in Prague. It is highly regrettable that the Chinese officials regard the interference of Chinese citizens into our affairs and violations of our law as creditable and that they publicly commend the culprits.

We cannot agree with the arbitrary assessment of the transition of Czechoslovakia to socialism, given in the Chinese press, which contradicts the facts of history. This assessment distorts Lenin's idea of transition from the democratic to the socialist revolution.

The leaders of the Communist Party of China, blinded by megalomania, have lost all sense of proportion and stop at nothing. It is they who bear the full responsibility for weakening the unity and causing a split of the international Communist movement.

Czechoslovak Communists and all working people of Czechoslovakia are particularly indignant at the violent attacks launched by the Chinese leaders against the CPSU and the Soviet Union, attacks which, in tone and content, are reminiscent of the invective used by imperialist circles. The Chinese leaders demonstrate their political and moral unscrupulousness by urging world public opinion to oppose the policy of the Soviet Union—the policy of peace, of support for the progressive and revolutionary forces and of friendly relations among the nations.

Our Party highly appreciates the position of the CPSU and its numerous constructive steps timed at averting the dangerous course of events and cementing the unity of the international Communist movement. The Central Committee of the CPSU, supported by the other fraternal parties, has displayed the maximum patience, goodwill and calm in the effort to overcome the differences and to explain to the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the danger of its actions. However, the proposals made by the CPSU and other Communist and Workers' parties went unheeded by the Chinese leaders.

UNITY OF WORLD'S WORKERS MUST BE GOAL OF COMMUNISTS

STATEMENT* OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY,
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The historic mission of our working class is not only to free itself, the Negro people, and all deprived strata of this capitalist society from exploitation and oppression at the hand of the monopolists, and to make a rich and new life for the masses, but it also bears the responsibility of safeguarding all that is worthy in the national heritage and all creations of civilization.

Its destiny is to lead the nation to new heights of international fraternity and service to humanity. It cannot fulfil its duty to itself as a class nor attain its rightful status as leader of the nation, save on the basis of preserving all mankind from a holocaust that would result from the outbreak of thermonuclear war.

The preservation of peace is the first task of honour of our working class and of the workers of the whole world. It is a task which the working people of the whole world assume in association with all people who treasure the life and achievements of humanity.

* * *

The Communist Party of the United States understands the grave responsibilities which our Party, our class, and the workers of the whole world bear before history in this epoch when an ascending socialism is lighting the way to freedom from economic and cultural want, and freedom from fear of political tyranny yet, when at the same time the thermonuclear and rocketry instruments of war have been brought to an earth-crumbling destructive calibre.

It is on these grounds of responsibility to our class and our nation, and in conformity with the interests of humanity the world over, that we reaffirm our criticism and rejection of the course being advocated and pursued by the leadership of the Communist Party of China on a wide range of questions which bear upon policies in connection with the struggle for peace, democracy, economic development, national freedom, and socialism.

The attempts of leaders of the Communist Party of China to propagate their views over the heads of the leadership of the Communist and Workers' parties of the various countries have brought about a situation of divisions and confusions of serious proportion.

*The Worker, April 19, 1964.

the Cuban socialist revolution, foully attacked the Soviet action and utilized the crisis to launch a massive invasion across the McMahon Line in a bid to intimidate India and to solve the border dispute in its favour.

CHINA PURSUES ALTERNATE LINE

This action, as well as its opposition to the Test-Ban Treaty, and its opposition to the Soviet move to achieve world agreement to settle all border and territorial disputes peacefully, clearly shows that the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China are bent on extending the pursuit of their alternative line to the stage of conflict on the State plane, thus causing division in the great united front of the progressive forces of the world socialist countries, of the great labour movement of the capitalist countries and of the mighty national liberation movements of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America—the front for peace, democracy and socialism.

They are extending their splitting activities to all the great world organizations of peace, of labor, of women, of youth and of Afro-Asian solidarity. They are openly encouraging the organization of rival Communist and Workers' parties in a number of countries including ours, and grossly interfering in the affairs of fraternal parties in an attempt to force their line on them.

FOR AN END TO DISRUPTION

In the face of this serious situation in the world Communist movement, created by the unilateral actions of the leadership of the Communist Party of China, which threatens the solidarity and unity of the progressive forces of the peoples of the world, and above all of its advance detachment, the Communist and Workers' parties of various countries, and which only bring grist to the mill of imperialists and reactionaries, it is of the utmost importance to make a determined and united effort based on the broadest possible consultations among fraternal parties to overcome these difficulties and reforge the unity of the world Communist movement and to bring about the end of all divisive activities and disruptive polemics.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India reiterates its former resolution calling for the convening of a World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties as soon as possible.

This conference is necessary to preserve the unity of the world Communist movement, to ensure the victory of the great ideas of the Moscow Meetings of 1957 and 1960, which have advanced the cause of peace, of democracy, of the national independence of nations and of socialism.

In agreement with many other fraternal parties, we have arrived at the conclusion that, the disruptive activity of the Communist Party of China which has repeatedly rejected all the proposals for ending public polemics, has resulted in a situation where resolute and open action on behalf of the unity of the international Communist movement and its Leninist general line is the direct internationalist duty of the Communist and Workers' parties. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, unanimously supported by the recently held regional Party conferences fully approves of the actions of the CPSU Central Committee which gave a principled answer to the Chinese leaders by publishing the materials of its February meeting.

By its theoretical and practical activity the CPSU invariably shows that it consistently implements the general line of the Communist movement jointly elaborated in the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960; today this is the main criterion of the Marxist-Leninist approach for any Communist or Workers' Party.

The Central Committee of the CPC fully endorses the proposal of the CC, CPSU, for convening another conference of the Communist and Workers' parties at the earliest date. In our opinion, this conference should discuss, from positions of principle, the situation in the Communist movement and such questions as strengthening the unity of the world Communist forces on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and in conformity with the jointly elaborated general line of the world Communist movement.

STATEMENT OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY*

AGAINST THE DISRUPTIVE POLICY OF THE CHINESE LEADERS,
FOR STRENGTHENING THE UNITY AND SOLIDARITY OF THE
COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

In 1957 and 1960 the representatives of the world Communist movement, meeting in Moscow, drew up and unanimously adopted two historical documents—the Declaration and Statement of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The Communist and Workers' parties undoubtedly owe their signal successes of recent years largely to this jointly adopted general line. Life itself has thus confirmed the correctness of these decisions.

Our Party and the working people of the German Democratic Republic wholeheartedly endorsed these documents. And inasmuch as our words do not diverge from our deeds, we have contributed much to their realization. Nor could it have been otherwise, for the documents of 1957 and 1960 gave a scientific assessment of the present epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. Proceeding from the new balance of forces in the world, they drew the correct conclusions for the fight for peace and social progress, and charted the way to the realization of the basic tasks of our time.

These basic tasks are the building of socialism and communism; removal of the danger of a new world war and pursuance of a policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems; complete abolition of the imperialist colonial system, and struggle for democracy and social progress in the capitalist countries.

The Socialist Unity Party, like the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other Marxist-Leninist parties, is guided by this jointly elaborated and unanimously adopted general line which has been corroborated by experience, our experience included. This is evident from our consistent peace policy, the vigorous effort towards the building of socialism in the GDR, the application of Leninist principles in planning and economic management, the deepening of socialist democracy and the development of our socialist national culture.

Anyone endowed with clear vision and common sense can now see that the way taken by our Party was, and is, the right way. That the republic has grown economically stronger is clear not only to us in our day-to-day life; even our opponents have to admit this. Politically

FOR AN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONFERENCE

RESOLUTION* OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL, COMMUNIST
PARTY OF INDIA, APRIL 15, 1964.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India views with grave concern the new stage of aggravation of the open controversy and conflict in the world Communist movement reached since February 4, 1964 when the leadership of the Communist Party of China in their editorial in the *People's Daily* and *Hungchi* (Red Flag) gave an open call for organizing splits in the Communist and Workers' parties of every country in the name of fighting alleged "revisionism" of the CPSU.

From an attempt to give an alternative interpretation of the basic new appraisals and conclusions regarding the present-day world situation reached by the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties through their collective effort and incorporated in the Declaration and Statement of 1957 and 1960, the leadership of the Communist Party of China proceeded, on the eve of their bilateral talks with the leadership of the CPSU, to put forth unilaterally an entirely alternative line for the world Communist movement.

After the breakdown of the bilateral talks, the leadership of the Communist Party of China launched an unprecedentedly venomous campaign of open polemics, distorting the guiding principles laid down in the aforesaid collective documents, the Declaration and Statement of 1957 and 1960, on the role of the world socialist system, on the possibility of averting a World War, on peaceful coexistence of differing social systems, on the forms of transition to socialism in the developed capitalist states and in the countries which have newly won their independence from imperialism.

In these open polemics, they resorted to such gross vilifications and slanders against the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties, including our Party, violating all norms of behaviour and relations between fraternal parties—which are equal among themselves and sovereign in respect of their own people.

Passing from acrimonious words to disruptive deeds, the leadership of the Communist Party of China at the time of the Caribbean crisis, instead of lending support to the great peace initiative of the Soviet Union calculated to prevent a thermo-nuclear war and protect

*Neues Deutschland, April 15, 1964.

to observe Leninist standards of Party life in keeping with the principles of democratic centralism and to cherish Party unity like the apple of their eye."

The Communist Party in this country will continue to oppose all factional activities and disruption, equally in Britain or internationally, at the same time as carrying forward the struggle for the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, as set out in the 1960 Statement.

WORLD CONFERENCE

The problems of the present situation are serious and unprecedented. To overcome them will require the united efforts of all sincere Communists. Our Party has advocated a World Conference of Communist and Workers' parties to meet this dangerous situation. At the same time our Party has also declared that such a World Conference should be adequately prepared by preliminary consultations to ensure that the conference shall serve the purpose, not of deepening or perpetuating a split, but assist to resolve differences by comradely discussion and to restore the unity of the international Communist movement.

This remains our aim. Whatever the difficulties and obstacles still before us, we shall continue these efforts in the cause of the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

We remain confident that, grave as is the present situation, the international Communist movement will, in the end, solve the problems set by the present critical developments and emerge finally as it has emerged in the past from every preceding ordeal, with renewed strength and unity, to new triumphs in the cause of communism.

too our republic has become stronger. Its international prestige has grown. Its contacts with other nations and states have become broader. Telling blows have been dealt to West-German imperialism and militarism. The aggressive policy of the Adenauer group met with failure, and if Erhard were to continue this policy, he would be no more successful.

Hence it is perfectly clear that in the future as well we shall not allow either circumstances or individuals to divert us from the correct general line of the Communist and Workers' parties, or from the program adopted by the Sixth Congress of our Party in which the principles of Marxism-Leninism are creatively applied to the complex conditions of struggle in Germany.

I

This general line to which we owe our success has been assailed by the leaders of the Communist Party of China. Time and again our Party has rejected the viewpoint of the CPC leaders: It is in full agreement with the CPSU, which published materials of the February plenary meeting of its Central Committee a few days ago, as well as with the overwhelming majority of the other fraternal parties.

The Central Committee of the SUPG knows that the people of the GDR are indignant at the policy of the CPC leaders. Their indignation is quite understandable, for this policy is causing grave harm to the cause of peace, democracy and socialism. It is now clear that the leadership of the CPC is out to disrupt the unity and solidarity of the world Communist movement.

Let us recall the period preceding the 1960 Meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow. Already at that time the Chinese leaders objected strongly to any condemnation of factional and splitting activities, activities which are utterly incompatible with the Leninist standards of Party relations. Since then the CPC leaders have gone still further. They have departed on all basic issues from the Moscow documents of 1957 and 1960. They have counterposed to these documents their own unprincipled platform, which is an unsavoury hodgepodge of the most diverse anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist views. Moreover, when they realized that the Marxist-Leninist parties, and primarily the tried and tested vanguard of these parties, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under the leadership of its Central Committee headed by Comrade N.S. Khrushchov, resolutely rejected every attempt to falsify the jointly elaborated general line and were determined consistently to carry on the fight for peace, democracy and socialism, the CPC leaders unleashed, using all the means of factional struggle, a campaign against the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties.

We should like to recall that the SUPG, like the CPSU and other

Marxist-Leninist parties, pointed out to the leaders of the CPC in good time that their policy was anti-Marxist and urged that the public polemics be stopped and the discussion conducted in a sober and comradely way. But the leaders of the CPC ignored this good advice. Instead they replied to the comradely suggestions of the fraternal parties with even cruder attacks, insults and slander. More than that, they went so far as to openly urge the removal of the tried and tested Marxist-Leninist leaders of the Party of Lenin and of many other Communist parties. In this way they went over to open attacks against the unity of the world Communist movement. They set up anti-party factions in the fraternal parties. They mounted a blatant campaign under the odious slogans of factional struggle to rally unprincipled and corrupt careerists and Trotskyite, anarchist and sectarian elements to their banners. They carried their disruptive activities and pernicious factional struggle even into the international democratic organizations and movements, for instance, the Afro-Asian solidarity movement.

Their main blow is directed against the Soviet Union, against the socialist community, the greatest achievement of the international working-class movement and all other revolutionary forces. The CPC leaders evidently hope that racist, nationalist and chauvinist slogans will help them to realize their claim to the leading role.

Their ideology and policies are a mixture of petty-bourgeois nationalism, adventurism, great-power chauvinism and racism. This orientation has become the greatest danger to the unity of the international Communist movement.

The CPC leaders have sought "theoretically" to justify their splitting policy as "inevitable". But how do things stand in reality? The truth is that a split in the revolutionary working-class movement is not inevitable. Moreover, the lessons of history show that the forces which betray the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism and break away from the revolutionary movement are sooner or later bound to suffer defeat.

What is natural is the growth of the forces of peace and socialism. It is natural for the socialist countries to cement their unity in struggle for their common goals. Natural too is the growth of the forces of the Communist and Workers' parties, of their unity and solidarity.

Our Party and the working people of the GDR know full well what the division of the working class means. We also know that unity multiplies our strength tenfold. The working class and its allies in the GDR have advanced from success to success precisely thanks to their unity. The SUPG which is the embodiment of the unity of German Socialists on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, has always worked for the unity and solidarity of the world Communist movement.

Underlying this unity is the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin and

All fraternal relations between Communist parties would be destroyed if this principle of independence and non-intervention in internal affairs as between Communist parties were not recognized and if, instead, the principle of factional intervention by any Communist Party to promote disruption within another Communist Party were to become recognized as the principle of relationship between Communist parties.

AGAINST FACTIONALISM

Factionalism has nothing in common with the essential principle of the fullest and freest discussion within a Communist Party.

Factionalism, or the formation of counter-posed groups around opposing platforms within a Communist Party was condemned by Lenin and on Lenin's initiative prohibited by the Tenth Congress of the CPSU in 1921, as incompatible with the principles of democratic centralism of a Communist Party. Factionalism is no less impermissible on an international scale. During the thirties Trotskyism tried to organize factionalism on an international scale, with the customary call to "All true Marxist-Leninists", or "All true Bolsheviks" to form their grouplets or "would-be parties" in each country in opposition to the Communist Party and the international Communist movement (portrayed as hopelessly corrupted, bureaucratic, betraying Marxism-Leninism, and jumping obediently to "the orders of Moscow"), and on this basis erect a so-called "Fourth International". The attempt was an ignominious fiasco from the outset; and the latest phase of the myriad convolutions of the fragments of the so-called "Fourth International" has been their further disintegration into three rival mutually squabbling "international centres" in different continents—a feat surpassing the splitting of the atom.

Nevertheless even this puny and unsuccessful example of the attempt to promote factionalism on an international scale, did harm by providing the capitalist press with rich material for denunciation of the international Communist movement, or for presenting the most honoured and fearless revolutionary working class fighters all over the world with long records of devotion and integrity through every ordeal, as "jumping to the orders of Moscow".

Thus the international Communist movement has long experience of the harmfulness of factionalism and of the use of it made by the enemy. It is all the more serious if any established Communist Party, and still more leading Communist Party, gives direct countenance and even incitement to such attempts. Any attempts at factionalism require to be met with the united opposition of the entire international Communist movement. This is the emphatic warning of the 1960 Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties:

"Marxist-Leninist parties regard it as a law of their activity strictly

Bernstein, Kautsky and the revisionists of the Second International, and to draw a parallel from this with socialist countries.

BASIS OF REVISIONISM

But Lenin never failed to show that the economic basis of revisionism was the alliance of an upper section and leadership of the Labour movement with their own ruling capitalist class. Since the rule of the capitalists and landlords in Russia was ended nearly half a century ago, and socialism established, the charge of "revisionism" remained hanging in the air without any visible economic basis. The document of March 31st has now tried to repair this omission by declaring that capitalism is dominant in the Soviet Union:

"The capitalist forces in Soviet society have become a deluge, sweeping over all fields of life in the USSR, including the political, economic, cultural and ideological fields."

This also is the old song of anti-Communist and Social Democratic calumny. Lenin used often to express hearty derision of these absurdities, even in the period of NEP when the existence of permitted small-scale capitalism could provide some concrete facts on which to build the Western fables about the alleged "restoration of capitalism" in the Soviet Union. But at the present day, in the era of the mighty triumphs of the long established socialist system in the Soviet Union, this kind of fantasy is only an expression of theoretical bankruptcy.

The second new and grave feature of the March 31st document is that the general incitement to factionalism and splits, already contained in previous documents, notably in the "Splitters" document of February 4th, is now carried to the point of explicitly calling on the CPSU to remove Comrade Khrushchov from his leading position as General Secretary:

"Khrushchov's revisionism has inflicted very great and grave damage on the Soviet Union . . . we would give the leading comrades in the Soviet Union a piece of advice: since so many opportunists and revisionists have been thrown on to the rubbish heap of history, why must you belatedly follow in their wake . . . When Kautsky became a renegade the German Communist Liebknecht could only appeal to the working class in this way to 'push aside such leaders'."

What is here involved is no mere question of an individual, but of the basic relations of Communist parties.

But no party has the right to issue instructions to another party as to whom to choose for its leadership. It is the democratically elected Congress of a Communist Party which elects its Central Committee and its Central Committee which appoints the comrades to leading positions. This sovereign, democratic independence applies equally to the smallest Communist Party as to the largest.

the decisions of the Communist and Workers' parties based on this teaching. For the sake of strengthening this unity it is imperative to expose and refute the erroneous anti-Marxist views of the CPC leaders. Our slogan is: clarity cements unity!

II

It is natural for people in the GDR to want to know the reasons for the anti-Marxist views of the CPC leaders and the struggle they are waging against the general line of the world Communist movement. The views and disruptive activities of the Chinese leaders bring to mind primarily the struggle which the Communist and Workers' parties, our Party included, had to wage in the past against similar tendencies stemming mainly from petty-bourgeois nationalism.

Owing to the predominantly agrarian nature of the country, the relatively small numbers of the working class, and the social composition of the Party, petty-bourgeois nationalist influences are particularly strong in China. Gradually these petty-bourgeois nationalist views came to predominate in the policies of the CPC leaders.

Today petty-bourgeois nationalism and great-power chauvinism are the characteristic features and the driving force of the policy of the leaders of the Chinese Party.

This, in particular, is evident from the fact that they underrate the achievements of other peoples and fraternal parties, arrogantly overestimate their own successes, strive for world leadership and want to lay their hands on nuclear bombs, and seek to domineer over the world Communist movement and other peoples. The leaders of the CPC have joined those who seek a revision of their frontiers with neighbouring states; they themselves carried their border dispute with the Indian Republic to the point of military clashes. Their attitude towards other peoples, which is determined not by class but race considerations, should be particularly condemned.

The policy and stand of the Chinese leaders reveal their inability to make a scientific assessment of the present situation, to elaborate a revolutionary strategy and tactics on the basis of such an assessment and to implement this strategy and tactics patiently and systematically in struggle against all manifestations of subjectivism and petty-bourgeois anarchy. This was particularly clearly evident when the leaders of the CPC were confronted with the complex task of going over from the armed anti-imperialist liberation struggle and economic rehabilitation to planned building of socialism. As the decisions of the CPC show, it was faced with the task of guiding the country not by means of general slogans but by paying due attention to economic upbuilding and the deepening of socialist democracy. These tasks were then as urgent in China as they are today. The Eighth Congress of the CPC in 1956 adopted decisions which basically corresponded to

objective laws. Later, however, these decisions were somehow replaced with the policy of the "big leap", which hindered and complicated the consistent building of socialism, damaging the interests of the industrious and ingenious Chinese people.

In examining the reasons why the CPC leaders adopted such a position, our Party cannot ignore the fact that they have taken up the defense of the Stalin cult, which is utterly alien to Marxism-Leninism. For it is clear to all that the eradication of the consequences of the Stalin cult in the sphere of theory as well as in practice helps further to develop and consolidate socialist democracy and to create guarantees precluding any possibility of arbitrary rule by individuals. Only those who do not want this can defend the personality cult.

III

Steadfastly following the general line of the Communist and Workers' parties, the peace-loving forces of the world have achieved major successes in the fight to preserve peace.

Thanks to the superior strength of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and their consistent policy of peaceful coexistence, the ultra-reactionaries of the U.S.A. were prevented from invading socialist Cuba. The annals of history will testify for all time to come that it was the peace-loving forces of the world who prevented a thermonuclear war. And it is to the credit of the very same forces that the Moscow treaty terminating the radioactive contamination of the atmosphere, outer space and the seas was signed. The Moscow treaty gives all mothers new hope that their children will grow up healthy and will themselves bear healthy children.

Today, when thermonuclear weapons hold the threat of physical annihilation over entire nations, war can serve less than ever as a political means of settling disputed international issues. Because of this we say: since the survival and happy future of the German people depends on the preservation of peace, the only possible way to order the relations of the two German states is by pursuing a policy of peaceful coexistence.

This policy alone is in the interests of our nation. Therefore our Party, government and National Front has again and again taken the initiative in seeking normalization of relations between the two German states and between the G.D.R. and West Berlin, and in pursuing a policy of common sense and good will. The historical mission of the G.D.R., the contribution which the working class and all other working people of our state are destined to make, is to create, through all-out building of socialism, the prerequisites for the victory of the forces of peace and progress in all of Germany.

Take the question of peaceful coexistence. What is the good of all the diverse declarations of the leaders of the CPC if they reject the

first put forward by the Report of Comrade Khrushchov at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU in 1956.

"THE BRITISH ROAD"

This is incorrect. The conception was already set out in the Program of our Party, *The British Road to Socialism*, adopted in 1951. This Program was reprinted in *Pravda* and in Communist organs all over the world, and was recognized as winning the approval of leading international Communists, including the leadership of the CPSU, with Stalin at their head. Thus the abuse directed by the Chinese comrades against Khrushchov in this respect is in reality directed against Stalin. The Chinese comrades allege that the conception of the peaceful transition to socialism is the same as the bankrupt and long discredited reformist conception of achieving socialism by a parliamentary majority, independently of the class struggle and of the extra-parliamentary mass movement.

This is an indefensible distortion. The definition of the conditions for the realization of this peaceful transition (unity of the working class, broad alliance of the working class and the majority of the working population, rising class struggle, alongside the winning of a parliamentary majority, etc.) was set out with complete clearness in our Program, in the Report to the 20th Congress of the CPSU, and in the 1957 and 1960 documents. There is no possible excuse for misunderstanding.

In support of this revision of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the question of revolution, the Chinese document of March 21st quotes with approval the declaration of Comrade Mao Tse-tung as a supposed tenet of Marxism-Leninism, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun".

"FORCE THEORY"

This caricature of Marxist-Leninist theory ignores all the teaching of Engels in his *Anti-Dühring*, repudiating the "force theory" of Professor Dühring, and showing that, so far from military force being the original creator of social-political institutions, as Professor Dühring had argued, it is the economic stage of development and corresponding stage of social-political forces which governs the forms and role of military force. This profound teaching of Marxism-Leninism has been abundantly confirmed by the present stage of nuclear weapons, whose possession and use depends on the most advanced economic, scientific and technological development of an entire society.

Similarly the document of March 31st seeks to find an economic basis for the charge of "revisionism" against the leadership of the CPSU and other leading Communist parties. Previous documents were content to quote at scholastic length Lenin's diatribes against

First, the Chinese Communist Party now for the first time openly attacks the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement, and demands their revision. On the question of the peaceful transition to socialism, they say that "there are serious weaknesses and errors" in the agreed Statement of the 81 Communist parties. Therefore

"it is necessary to amend the formulation of the question in the Declaration and the Statement through joint consultation of Communist and Workers' parties."

It is obvious that only a world conference of the 81 Communist parties would have the right to make any amendment of their previously agreed statement. But the above formulation calling for amendment through joint consultation of Communist and Workers' parties, could be interpreted to mean that the unilateral repudiation of the agreed document now made by the leadership of the Communist Party of China, would be followed by a unilateral attempt at amendment by a few parties or groups.

Previously every Chinese Communist statement has professed fidelity to these agreed documents of the international Communist movement, and accused others of violating them.

What can be thought of those professions in the light of this new statement of the Chinese comrades themselves?

PEACEFUL TRANSITION

Whereas the 1957 and 1960 documents affirmed the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism in certain countries, and this was agreed by all the 81 Communist and Workers' parties, the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party now declare that there is only one path, the path of violent revolution, and demand the revision of the international documents in this sense.

The Chinese comrades allege that this theory of the universal law of "violent revolution" and of the rejection of the possibility of peaceful transition in any country, is the true story of Marxism-Leninism. They quote the statement of Lenin in *The State and Revolution* that "as a general rule" the proletarian revolution can take place "only through a violent revolution". This statement demonstrates that even at that time, Lenin explicitly rejected the dogma of universality, even half-a-century ago, at the height of the imperialist war, before there was a world system of socialism, before the change in the world balance of forces. But the Chinese comrades then proceed to distort this concrete, careful and dialectical statement of Lenin into the dogmatic assertion that "violent revolution is a universal law of proletarian revolution".

They allege that the conception of the possibility of the peaceful transition to Socialism in certain countries as a result of the change in the balance of forces in the modern world situation, is an invention

policy of peaceful coexistence as the foreign policy line of the socialist states? By doing so they place themselves in sharp opposition to the will of the peoples and the objective dictates of history. True, they pose as ultra-revolutionaries, but actually they are poor revolutionaries who in their heart of hearts are utterly lacking in faith. They do not believe, in effect, that the liberated peoples will be able to create their own new world by peaceful labor and to defeat imperialism in economic competition. Because of this they seek to impose on the Marxist-Leninist parties a policy of local wars against imperialism which are fraught with the danger of a global nuclear catastrophe.

It is easy to visualize what the consequences would be for the German nation if the Socialist Unity Party were to fall in line with these ultra-Left, adventurist and anti-human views. Such a policy would play into the hands of the West-German revenge seekers, who are out to unleash aggression. It would be impossible to ensure in the G.D.R. the peaceful building of socialism, in which we engaged for a long time with our frontiers wide open. To follow the line of the CPC would mean encouraging the aggressive forces of West-German imperialism to stage new and bigger provocations. Such a policy would inevitably lead to war; it would spark off a thermonuclear world war; which would endanger the very existence of the German nation.

One must therefore ask oneself: why do the leaders of the CPC not wish to see this, and that, after all, is their purpose? Are they really concerned with the victory of the world revolution? Perhaps they are mistaken only as regards the ways and means of achieving this end?

The answer is clear: prompted by their narrow selfish interests stemming from great-power chauvinism, they stop at nothing in gambling with the future of the international revolution and the destinies of the peoples. It is in this light that their rejection of the idea of stage-by-stage disarmament and their striving to gain possession of nuclear weapons is allegedly a criterion of national sovereignty, a guarantee against a country being classified as a "second or third rate power". This of course has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism and the international revolution, nor has it anything to do with security requirements, since the Soviet Union's missile and nuclear power ensures the security of all the socialist countries. Whether they want to or not, the Chinese leaders are thus playing into the hands of the West-German militarists who are clamouring for nuclear weapons.

The leaders of the CPC advise the socialist countries and the fraternal parties in the capitalist countries to concentrate their struggle exclusively against U.S. imperialism. This thesis too is garbed in ultra-revolutionary phraseology and "substantiated" by the argument that West-German, French, British and Japanese imperialism is merely a relatively insignificant "intermediate zone", a "shadow" of U.S. imperialism. This "theory" ignores the notorious aggressiveness of West-

German imperialism and tends to minimize the danger it presents. And this the CPC leaders have the temerity to offer to the German people, and to the other peoples which only too often suffered from the rapacity of German imperialism, as a revolutionary policy! This policy also explains why the leaders of the CPC, who are so eager to pose as champions of the national-liberation movement, say nothing about the neo-colonialist policy of such an imperialist country of the "intermediate zone" as Western Germany.

As for our Party, it stands for the complete and final abolition of the anti-human colonial system. It renders assistance to the people still oppressed by imperialism, not by pseudo-revolutionary slogans and "intermediate-zone" theories but by colonialist policies, the West-German brand of neo-colonialism in particular. The entire experience of the national-liberation movement shows that it is the community of socialist countries, and especially the great economic and military strength of the Soviet Union, that is the best source of support and aid to the just cause and the development of the newly-emerged national states.

IV

Our Party is channelling its efforts in all-out construction of socialism. Socialism is a social system which ensures people peace and social security, human dignity and fraternity, freedom and justice, a happy full-blooded life.

Now that the socialist relations of production have finally triumphed in the GDR and its frontiers have been made secure, social progress in the republic and the living standard of its people depend primarily on how effectively the economic laws of socialism are used to ensure the maximum growth of the productivity of labor. In elaborating the new system of economic planning and management, the SUPG is steadfastly pursuing a Leninist economic policy. Aimed at advancing the scientific and technological revolution, improving the quality of output and reducing production costs, this economic policy of our Party and the government of the GDR calls for the use of all the advantages accruing from socialist production relations in order to make that contribution to the economic competition between socialism and capitalism which is required by national and international interests. We all know that this is a policy which makes our life finer and richer. It is a truly revolutionary policy understandable to the working people.

Yet the leaders of the CPC describe this successful policy of all-out building of socialism in the G.D.R. as a revisionist policy allegedly leading to the "restoration of capitalism".

What, indeed, do the Chinese leaders hope to achieve by fabricating such fables? Do they expect the working people of the G.D.R. to re-

has charged the leadership of the CPSU with "betrayal" of communism, denounced the Soviet Union as a fortress of counter-revolution comparable to the "Holy Alliance" of the Tsar and the Kaisers of the early 19th century ("The New 'Holy Alliance' Will End Up No Better Than The Old"), and described the economic system in the Soviet Union as dominated by capitalism (*People's Daily*, March 31, 1964). This is not an "ideological controversy". The same type of slanderous abuse was previously spread through all these years from the sewers of counter-revolution. Every serious Communist can only be indignant that the leadership of the Communist Party of China should descend to repeating such slanders.

SERIOUS FEATURE

It is a serious feature of this controversy that it has been extended to the sphere of state relations. But the issue is not, as the commentators in the capitalist press frequently assert, a battle of "power politics" reflecting the problem of relations of two great socialist powers. Certainly there are such problems. There may be rights or wrongs in these relations. But all these problems can be solved, provided the political basis exists of comradeship in a common cause and the desire for mutual understanding. Only if the political basis is poisoned can such problems dangerously explode.

In face of outrageous charges, the CPSU exercised the greatest patience and restraint. The letter of November 29 to the Communist Party of China, now made public, was couched in the most conciliatory terms; avoided any polemical expression; emphasized that the public division was creating harmful effects and difficulties for the international Communist movement, and especially for smaller Communist parties struggling under difficult conditions in capitalist countries; urged that concentration should be turned on to the main aims on which there was unity, while issues on which there were differences should be held over for further consideration; and suggested that the co-operation of the Soviet Union and China should be publicly manifested by agreements in the economic and cultural spheres, and for this purpose offered to consider any forms of economic co-operation, trade agreements or aid which the Chinese comrades would like to suggest.

"SPLITTERS" ARTICLE

No reply was received to this friendly and conciliatory letter for three months. Instead, on February 4, the provocative and slanderous "Splitters" article appeared. The reply was only sent on February 29.

The *People's Daily* editorial of March 31 has now brought out two new and dangerous elements in the position at present adopted by the leadership of the Communist Party of China, which should open the eyes of all to realize the challenge raised.

of March 31, openly repudiating the 1960 Statement of 81 Communist parties and openly calling for splits and factions in all Communist parties.

In face of this challenge no Communist can stand aside or take refuge in declaring that this quarrel of big parties is no concern of his, that it is "six of one and half a dozen of the other", or that he wishes to be neutral, blame both sides, and get on with his job in this country.

COMMON FIGHT

We should indeed deeply like to be free to concentrate on getting on with our job in this country, to unite the fight against British monopoly capitalism and imperialism, the common fight of all Communists and supporters of socialism and national liberation and peace.

We have repeatedly made clear that in our view any issues of internal, ideological controversy in the international Communist movement — and it is quite understandable that in the complex modern international situation questions of difference on current tactics and estimations should arise — should never become the subject of the present type of public polemic between parties for the delight of the enemy, but should be settled by comradely, collective discussion along the lines indicated in the 1960 Statement. It is with the utmost reluctance that we have put out the public statements we have issued only when compelled by the publication of slanderous allegations and charges in documents printed in English and circulated among our members challenging the basic principles of our Party and of the international Communist movement and of the 1960 Statement.

We have, therefore, been compelled to make clear our principled position on these questions; but we have always sought to state our views in the most moderate tone, and continuously laying the main stress on the need to end this type of harmful public polemic and proceed to the methods of international consultation to resolve the differences and restore international Communist unity.

Now that the *People's Daily* article of March 31 has been published, following the "Splitters" article of February 4, and followed by the *Pravda* editorial of April, with the Suslov report of February 14, all the facts and issues are set out plainly for every Party member and reader to judge.

It is not a question of "only" an "ideological controversy" between two great parties, in relation to which differences individual Communists may hold their varying opinions on the rights and wrongs. An ideological controversy can be settled by comradely, collective discussion. But here the language is no longer the language of Communist ideological controversy. The Communist Party of China

nounce the planned, consistent economic policy pursued for years now? Do they expect us to follow their example and ignore the objective laws of socialist construction and embark on a "big-leap" policy? What would have happened if our Party had tried to by-pass essential stages of social development? We could not have risen from the ruins of 1945. Every sensible person knows by his own experience that you cannot build a sound economy by "big leaps". Only those aims can be set in building a national economy for which the prerequisites exist. Were we not to take this into account, our revolution would merely amount to spreading out poverty equally and the ideas of socialism and communism would lose their attraction for the millions of working people. A cult of backwardness and primitive equality has nothing in common with the building of socialism. The Chinese leaders, however, think and act differently. Now that their policy of the "big leap" has set the economy of the Chinese People's Republic years back, they, contrary to the views of Marx, Engels and Lenin, are seeking to elevate poverty to a virtue under socialism. Such "virtuous socialism" can hardly find many adherents. The working class and its allies have not taken the path of the socialist revolution to make life worse than it was.

They have taken this path in order to develop the productive forces and thereby satisfy their material and cultural requirements better than under capitalism.

The leaders of the CPC only discredit the lofty ideas of socialism when they repeat over and over again that those who steadily improve the people's living standard, who are evolving a higher form of organization of social labor than that existing under capitalism, and who are extending socialist democracy and developing new social relations among the working people are "sinning" against the socialist revolution, "halting half-way" and giving themselves up to the "bourgeois striving for well-being". One need not be a philosopher to see that this is an utterly erroneous interpretation of socialism.

How can people call themselves Marxist-Leninists who claim that the just principle of remuneration according to work performed leads to "a growth of bourgeois individualism" and "causes damage to the socialist economy". In the early years of the Soviet power V.I. Lenin opposed similar arguments advanced by the so-called "Left Communists", who labelled Lenin's economic policy as a "Right-wing Bolshevik deviation" and "evolution towards state capitalism". This absurd "Left Communist" position was completely annihilated by Lenin in his *"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*. Only the leaders of the CPC are apparently unaware of it to this day.

Already in 1960 our Party gave a rebuff to attempts to propagate the Chinese "people's communes" in our republic. Had we departed from the tried and tested path of gradual development of co-operatives and adopted the way of the "people's communes" as a "ladder to paradise"

our position would undoubtedly have taken a turn for the worse.

Deepening of socialist democracy is an indispensable aspect of the building of socialism. But in none of the statements of the Chinese leaders is there any mention of socialist democracy or the need to promote it. Instead they are increasingly making use of military and bureaucratic methods of leadership, resorting more and more to orders from above. Since the beginning of 1964 the military methods and forms of organization practiced in the People's Liberation Army are being implanted in all spheres of public life.

Our Party has always rejected the idea of fitting socialism in any "procrustean bed" and allowing administrative compulsion to eclipse persuasion. Nor will it in the future allow itself to be diverted from the Marxist-Leninist teaching concerning the party of the working class, it will not cease its efforts to deepen inner-Party democracy or give up its close links with all sections of the people. Our Party has always existed and will continue to exist for the people. Hence it is the true champion of the interests of the working class and the entire German people, their recognized and tested leader.

V

The solidarity and unity of the international Communist movement and all other progressive forces is the decisive factor of victory in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Because of this the Communist and Workers' parties, the Communist Party of China included, pledged themselves at the 1957 and 1960 meetings to educate the working people in the spirit of unity, internationalism and patriotism. They pledged themselves to wage a resolute struggle against all survivals of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

Our Party has long worked along these lines. One of its greatest achievements is the complete extirpation in the G.D.R. of nationalism, chauvinism and fascist race hatred. The whole world knows this, and hence the peoples regard with respect our republic, whose population has been imbued with the spirit of international solidarity, humanism and friendship among the nations. The 15 years of the existence of our state have clearly shown that socialist patriotism combined with socialist internationalism promotes both the national interest and the interests of all other peoples.

Why, then, do the leaders of the CPC seek to replace internationalism, the tried and tested jointly adopted general line of the international Communist movement, with their own "25-point general line," the salient features of which bear the odious stamp of great-power chauvinism, national arrogance and claims to autocratic leadership? Have not the peoples of all countries suffered enough from nationalism and great-power chauvinism? At any rate our

Stalin, and now against the present leadership of the CPSU. Our Communist Party, which was founded before the Chinese Communist Party, has been fighting these slanders ever since its foundation. Those of us who joined in founding our Communist Party, who were fighting publicly on the side of the Bolsheviks before the Bolshevik revolution, from the moment of the Bolshevik revolution, we had to rebut these foul charges from enemies and renegades ever since 1917. We are shocked that these same slanders should now be repeated by leaders of the Communist Party of China. But we shall continue to rebut them from whatever source they come.

We love and honour the great Chinese Revolution, the second greatest socialist revolution in history, just as we have loved and honoured always the Soviet Revolution. We honour the brilliant role of the historic Communist Party of China, which led 600 million of the Chinese people to victory against imperialism and its allies. Whatever the ideological differences, we stand in unbreakable solidarity with the Chinese People's Republic as a great socialist country against every assault of imperialism. We showed our solidarity when Anglo-American imperialism sought to take advantage of the border conflict in the autumn of 1962, and we shall always maintain such solidarity wherever and whenever imperialism dares to threaten China. We fight for the rights of China in the United Nations, for the ending of the illegal American occupation of Taiwan and for the removal of the American blockading force of warships and planes from the coasts of China.

It is our deepest regret that the manifest strategy of U.S. imperialism to drive a wedge between the Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union, should have won a temporary success in this present controversy, and that the leadership of the Communist Party of China should have adopted a line which thus suits the strategy of U.S. imperialism.

FOR CLOSE CO-OPERATION

We desire to see the friendship and close co-operation of the two great socialist powers, the Soviet Union and China, as of all socialist countries and all Communist parties, in the common cause of international communism and for the aims of socialism, national liberation and peace.

It is precisely because of this concern for the unity of the international Communist movement and for the principles of Marxism-Leninism that we have taken our principled stand on these issues as set out in our successive Executive Committee statements, Congress decisions and the latest E.C. statement of September of last year.

Now a new and still further dangerous stage has been reached in this situation by the last document of the Communist Party of China

FIGHT FOR UNITY OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT*

R. Palme Dutt

Member of Political Committee of the British Communist Party

The fight for the unity of the international Communist Movement and of every Communist Party on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, set out in the 1960 Statement of the 81 Communist parties, is now fully joined. However much we may all dislike to be involved in an unjustifiable and harmful internal controversy in the international Communist movement at a time when the fullest united strength of all is needed against the common enemy, no Communist can be on the sidelines in this fight.

Let there be no mistake. We are not fighting "for Russia" or "for Khrushchov", "against China". It is the enemy press which seeks to confuse the issue by treating it as a "Sino-Soviet controversy" in which sides are taken with one or another country according to preference. We are opposed to all abusive language in this controversy, from whatever side it comes.

COMMUNIST UNITY

We are fighting, as throughout this controversy, for international Communist unity; for the unity of every Communist Party against disruption and factionalism; for the principles of Marxism-Leninism as set out in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement; for the principles and program and Congress decisions of our own Party.

When we repudiate outrageous charges set out in Chinese documents that the Soviet Government and leadership of the CPSU have "betrayed the Soviet people, the socialist camp and the peoples of the world" (*Hungchi*, No. 17, 1963), and are "allied with imperialism to oppose socialism" or "allied with the reactionaries of all countries to oppose the peoples of the world" (Statement of the Chinese Government, July 31, 1963), we are not declaring that "the Soviet Union is always right" or that "the CPSU is infallible". No Party has been more unsparing in self-criticism than the CPSU.

AGAINST SLANDER

But slanders of this type we have known and fought every year and every month since 1917, equally when made against Lenin, against

people know full well that neither has ever tended to strengthen friendship between peoples or to promote peace.

How can the CPC leaders' professions of loyalty to proletarian internationalism be reconciled with their anti-Soviet policy? Indocrination of the Chinese people in an anti-Soviet spirit is a flagrant violation of proletarian internationalism inasmuch as the Soviet Union is the centre of the international working-class movement, the bulwark of Marxism-Leninism and peace. The attitude of the Communist and Workers' parties and the socialist countries towards the Soviet Union is now more than ever before the touchstone of their policy.

The Soviet Union is the starting point and the base of the socialist world system, which is the greatest achievement of the international working-class movement. Can Marxist-Leninists ever forget what they owe to the heroic accomplishments of the Soviet peoples? Can they forget that the People's Democracies were able to lay the foundations of socialism so rapidly primarily because they could draw on the material aid selflessly extended by the Soviet Union and the vast experience of the CPSU? Can they forget that it is the economic might of the Soviet Union which above all ensures the peoples peace, the prime condition for the successful building of socialism. Can they forget that in forging ahead from socialism to communism the CPSU is blazing the path to this lofty goal for all humanity?

Our Party and our people always bear this in mind. Not to remember it would mean scorning not only socialist internationalism but all the lessons of German history.

Our Party resolutely rejects the non-Marxist view that each country should build its own socialism relying on "its own forces" in isolation from the fraternal parties. If this view were to be accepted, our progress in the economic competition between socialism and capitalism would be retarded, the community of socialist countries would be weakened, and in the final analysis, the victory of socialism in general would be endangered. Socialism, like the socialist doctrine, is international, not national.

All true internationalists know that the faster the strength of socialism grows in the course of peaceful economic competition, the greater the influence exerted by the socialist community on the march of history and the more favorable the conditions for rendering effective support to the peoples who have been the object of imperialist exploitation and oppression for centuries. Our Party will therefore work indefatigably to promote co-operation among the socialist countries and to strengthen the socialist community, for this serves best of all both national and international interests.

*Comment Supplement, No. 1, April 18, 1964.

VI

The working people of the German Democratic Republic have long been linked with the Chinese people by close friendship and splendid traditions of joint struggle against imperialism.

Many of us remember well the slogan "Hands off China!" with which the revolutionary forces of our people rallied to the support of the emancipation struggle of the Chinese workers and peasants. We remember the moral and material support given to starving strikers in China; Ernst Thaelmann's speeches in support of the Canton commune in 1927; the mass meetings sponsored by the Communist Party of Germany to protest against the supply of arms by the German imperialists for the suppression of the Chinese revolution; and Walter Ulbricht's speeches in the Reichstag exposing the imperialist war against China.

And after 1945 our Party consistently combated the attempts made by the Bonn reactionaries to stab the Chinese people in the back at a time when they were fighting the foreign imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek regime. It condemned Adenauer's chauvinistic anti-Chinese sallies. In the course of these years the bonds of friendship between the Chinese and German peoples grew stronger. This friendship entered a new stage in 1949 when the Chinese People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic were established almost simultaneously.

True to their proletarian traditions, our Party and the government of the GDR promoted close relations with the Chinese People's Republic. These were relations of friendship, fraternal aid and co-operation, relations that were beneficial to both our peoples. Our Party consistently pursued this policy even after disagreements appeared between the leaders of the CPC and in the international Communist movement.

The Chinese leaders carried the ideological differences over to inter-state relations. They deliberately sought to worsen relations between our two states. By curtailing trade and discontinuing the supply of important raw materials, they caused considerable difficulties to our economy. At the same time the Chinese leaders had no qualms about strengthening their economic relations with capitalist countries.

Despite this regrettable stand taken by the leaders of the CPC, our Party, true to socialist internationalism, is consistently adhering to its policy of friendship with the Chinese people. It seeks not only to maintain but to promote state relations between the two countries. The SUPG hopes that in this question at least the Chinese leaders will see reason.

Party should be based on a reasoned and comprehensive conviction, and not merely on discipline. We do not want to give anyone the opportunity to say that our comrades were not informed, that the decision was made at the top. What we do want, particularly in this case, is to give an example of an exchange of views and of internal democracy that should, in our opinion, be the rule for all Communist parties and for the international movement as a whole.

RESOLUTION*

ADOPTED AT MEETING OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE CENTRAL AUDITING COMMISSION OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY HELD APRIL 21-23.

The Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission heard and approved the report of Comrade Togliatti on the unity of the international working-class and Communist movement.

At the same time they reaffirmed the resolution of the CC of October 24, 1963.

They instructed the leadership of the Party to conduct, in the discussion and the contacts taking place in the international Communist movement, consistent activity based on the line laid down in this resolution and in the report of Comrade Togliatti.

They invite the Party organizations to conduct, both in the Party and among the working people, an extensive and deep-going discussion on problems concerning the unity of the international movement in order to ensure complete clarity about these problems, so that there is deep conviction and unity in our ranks and so that we are able to combat anti-communist propaganda ever more effectively.

*L'Unità, April 24, 1964.

As for the results the meeting may yield, our hesitation stems not only from a desire to avoid summary excommunication, but also from the fear that in a discussion at this level, inevitably too general in character, it may prove very difficult to make any serious advance in the creative elaboration of our policy. If things then go to the length of a rupture, the repercussions may be extremely grave for our whole movement. Once two opposed centres arise, we may be running the risk of all our future work being concentrated on a struggle between these two centres; it is almost inevitable that small pro-Chinese parties will appear in each country. Both sides will be more rigidly strict as to organization and discipline than the present situation and present needs warrant, causing us almost inevitably to abandon the creative search for new development in all the major sectors and all fields of our activity.

To sum up, we are not yet convinced that it is not worthwhile to continue the discussion and to work perseveringly for a correct political line and for the unity of the international movement in the present conditions, using methods which, as I have said, may at least give some hope of attenuating the political differences, establishing fruitful contacts, and gradually returning to complete unity.

We will set out and reason our considerations to the leading comrades from other parties, above all the comrades from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We are sure that, at least, we will be able to convince them that our considerations are prompted by the desire and intention to contribute to the struggle in a manner we believe to be the most effective, and to overcome all forms of schematism and dogmatism, to defend and restore the complement unity, the internal solidarity and co-operation of the whole Communist and working-class movement.

The views which I have set forth correspond to what has already been expressed in the Party, at meetings where these questions were discussed. Besides, they correspond to the state of mind, the opinions and concerns widespread among the working people. As we formulate these propositions, we are deeply conscious of the responsibility devolving on us not only on account of our past, our long struggle and our experience, but also on account of the strength of our Party, our deeply internationalist spirit and the determination with which the Italian Communist Party has for years, using all the necessary forms of action, waged a difficult struggle for the interests and aspirations of the laboring classes, scoring major victories and successes.

We are inviting all our organizations to examine once more the problems facing the world Communist movement, to discuss them at branch meetings, and at open meetings with the participation of our Socialist comrades, our sympathizers and even our opponents. It is also our desire that, as regards these problems, the unity of the

VII

The disruptive activities of the Chinese leaders have given rise to justified concern on the part of the members of our Party, the citizens of our republic. What will happen now, they ask.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany considers it necessary to convene another meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties. It therefore supports the suggestion made by the CPSU that a new meeting of the delegations of the CC, CPSU, and the CC, CPC, be held in May, that a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties which took part in 1960 in the editorial committee preparing the Moscow meeting be called in June-July, and a meeting of all Communist and Workers' parties in the autumn of 1964.

Summarizing the foregoing, we declare with all responsibility: the general line adopted by the Communist and Workers' parties, the living, history-making spirit of the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, will triumph, and not the anti-Marxist dogma and practices of the Chinese leaders. This is the conclusion to be drawn from the rich experience of the past, from the entire history of the revolutionary working-class movement, which has always swept aside the splitters and factionalists. This is a law of history. For peace and social progress accord with the basic interests of all peoples, the Chinese people included.

The achievements of the commonwealth of socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union and of the entire international Communist movement are exerting a growing influence on the thinking and actions of the working people in all countries. Under the leadership of the CC, CPSU, headed by Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, the Soviet people are carrying out their program of building communism. Under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist parties the working people of other socialist countries are achieving new substantial successes. By building up our economy and strengthening our working-peasant state in every way, by carrying out our program for the all-out building of socialism, we too are making our contribution towards cementing the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries and the international Communist movement. Who can doubt that our struggle and labor, the creative powers of the masses guided according to a scientific plan, will continue to enhance the attractive force of socialism! Ours is a just and good cause, it is the right cause, and hence it will triumph!

FROM A PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS TO A PARTY OF THE WHOLE SOVIET PEOPLE*

The leaders of the Communist Party of China have launched a desperate campaign and are stepping up their undermining activities against the policy (agreed on and expressed in the documents of the Moscow Meetings of 1957 and 1960) of the international Communist and workers' movement in all the basic theoretical and political problems of our times. The essence of this campaign is to oppose leftist adventurist, petty-bourgeois and nationalistic ideology to Marxism-Leninism. Aspiration to hegemony of the world Communist movement is their political aim. The methods they use, which they have borrowed from the Trotskyites, are unbridled demagoguery and pseudo-revolutionary phrase-mongering, designed to disguise their departure from the cardinal principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. They also slander the fraternal parties, urge the formation in their ranks of anti-Party and near-Party factional groups and carry on open splitting activities.

The credo of this modern "left-wing" opportunism which found its fullest expression in the notorious 25 points of the CPC Central Committee letter of June 14, 1963, has been duly appraised in the documents of the February CPSU Central Committee Meeting and in the statements of fraternal parties. Taking just one theoretical and political problem we would like to show the real worth of the "theoretical" inventions of the Peking leaders and the purpose these inventions pursue.

The Chinese leaders, in gradually increasing the range of problems in which they are trying to impose their viewpoint on fraternal parties, have now selected as the object of attack the internal affairs of the Marxist-Leninist parties and especially the CPSU, concentrating their fire on our Party's Program adopted at the Twenty-Second Congress. The Peking ideologists who are trimming Marxism-Leninism "to suit the Chinese fashion," do not agree, among other things, that a proletarian Party can become a Party of the people. They reject our Party Program conclusions that the CPSU has become a Party of the entire people. They allege that this conclusion is nothing but "organizational and moral disarmament of the proletariat" and even a "service rendered for the restoration of capitalism."

Naturally they cannot adduce any proof on this score and try to

and working-class movement as a movement united by profound solidarity but open to necessary differences, to an exchange of ideas, thanks to which the propositions of our doctrine crystallize and develop, and a collective effort is made to avoid errors of principle, while bringing our judgments and actions into conformity with the continuously changing reality.

On the other hand, the method of official excommunication may revive authoritarian and sectarian systems in the leadership of each party, and also imperil the activities, development and, partly the very existence of the international mass organizations, trade unions, etc.

As you know, the proposals we made could not be realized. Preparations were begun for a meeting of the parties of the capitalist West, but these too were suspended. Now, as I have said, the idea of an international meeting of all Communist parties has been advanced again, in order to examine all the problems created by the Chinese attacks and to reaffirm the general line of our movement.

In principle it is a legitimate idea, provided all the parties take part in the meeting. It remains to be seen whether or not it is the best way to surmount the differences, to combat the attempts of a split and, consequently, to reinforce the unity and cohesion of our movement. It is also necessary to see how it should be prepared in order to be able to attain these goals.

I wish to say at once that we do not consider it opportune at this time to suspend the polemics, including the open polemics. We have come to a point where this would serve no useful purpose. It would only create illusions. The debate cannot but continue. So we propose that it should be conducted in the most opportune forms, even with those groups of workers or comrades who have fallen under the influence of the Chinese ideas. Discussion is indispensable, and should be conducted continuously and patiently, so as not to alienate any of the forces who can contribute to the struggles we have to wage.

But the debate must always be based on objective arguments, rooted in the facts, it must avoid summary and insulting qualifications and, consequently, avoid any exacerbation of the differences. It would be good if we could get the Chinese comrades to follow this principle. For one thing, it would be a big step forward if ideological differences were in a way separated from differences between the states.

It is therefore necessary, before calling an international meeting, to prepare for it more concretely and deeply than for the 81-Party Meeting in 1960. Provisions should be made for bilateral or group meetings, and for possible mediation, so as to try and determine more specifically those questions which can be examined with the hope of reaching agreement, and those questions which seem to be insurmountable.

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and will never depart from this principle which has been proclaimed for years by the leading bodies of our Party.

We realize that this makes the struggle against the mistakes of the Chinese comrades and the dissemination of these mistakes more complicated. In a centralized organization one could apply the method of, say, excommunication. Comrade Khrushchov defined and condemned this method rightly in his speech at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in January 1963. "If we disagreed on certain questions and quarrelled," he said, "and then said at once that the socialist country whose leaders differed with us on something was not socialist, we would be demonstrating subjectivism pure and simple. It would be as in the case of the Church: when a person ceases to keep religious vows and perform religious rites, he is excommunicated and anathemized. It does not befit us to proceed like churchmen and engage in 'excommunications' from socialism."

The method of excommunication was used in Stalin's time against the Yugoslav comrades. This has been a mistake which we all recognize today, and traces of which are still evident in the collective resolution of 1960.

When talk arose of a new international meeting of all Communist parties to examine and assess the attitude of the Chinese comrades, we thought at once that this was likely to end in another excommunication, in a different direction this time and it appeared to us unnecessary and dangerous. True, there are Party cadres and Communist leaders in the world who believe that official declarations made in a document approved by the overwhelming majority of the parties are more convincing and forceful than the positions taken separately by the parties comprising this majority.

But with regard to these cadres and, in general, as concerns the movement as a whole, we believe that conviction and firmness in the defense of a correct political line should be sought—and is likely to be found more easily—through closer and deeper study, and a better solution of the problems facing each party in any prevailing situation and in relation to the common objectives of the movement as a whole. This was why we suggested a series of bilateral or group meetings at which these questions could be thrashed out seriously and decisions arrived at, which without prejudicing the autonomy and sovereignty of the parties, would enable each of them better to understand its tasks and perspectives, and the ways and means of realizing them.

We would also like to meet the Chinese comrades in our country and to acquaint them at first hand with the situation in which we are working, with the big struggles we have waged and are waging today, and with the progress we have achieved.

Our attitude corresponds to our conception of the world Communist

compensate for the absence of argument by slander and lies. They are careful enough to avoid a serious study of the real state of affairs. But since these lies are being disseminated on a grand scale through all possible channels, we are obliged to take up the issue.

DIALECTICS OF PARTY DEVELOPMENT

Marxists have never doubted that the development of a Communist Party, like the development of every social organism, follows the laws of dialectics. A Party, like everything else in the world, has its past, present and future.

The specific features of the development of parties in different countries notwithstanding, it is not hard to see some common features in this development. Usually beginning as a small group of closely united like-minded people, a Party, on joining the workers' movement, turns into a force capable of guiding the broad popular masses. This is borne out by the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of many other Communist and Workers' parties.

A Marxist-Leninist Party passes through three stages of development: 1. gathering strength, preparing the working class for struggle, overthrowing the exploiters' rule and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat; 2. building socialism, the first phase of communism; 3. building communist society. These stages are distinguished not only by the tasks confronting the Party and the conditions in which it has to operate, but also by the place of the Party in society.

When a revolutionary Marxist Party was being formed in Russia, Lenin attached special importance to a precise definition of its class nature and of the immediate and ultimate goals of the workers' struggle. Lenin insisted that "it is necessary, *first of all*, to fence off ourselves from all, to single out only and *exceptionally* the proletariat, and *then* declare that the proletariat will liberate all and that it appeals to all and invites all to action" (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 132).

Only the working class can set itself, and what is more can attain, the goal of abolishing all forms of exploitation of man by man and building communist society, a *classless* society. No other class can lead the struggle of all the working and exploited people and weld their efforts together. Only the working class in fighting for power is not interested in the subsequent perpetuation of its class domination, for it aims at abolishing all classes and all domination. This special role and position of the working class also determines the place in society of its political party as a party of the proletariat, a party of struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Yet, though it emphasizes its class nature, the Party does not in the least isolate itself from other, non-proletarian working groups of the population. On the contrary, it considers that the vanguard of

the working class can express its class interests only if it voices and defends the interests of an overwhelming majority of the people, of all working men. The idea of narrow guild interests is alien to it. The working class becomes genuinely revolutionary only to the extent that it comes out in all activities and in all spheres of life as leader of all working and exploited people.

Already in its first Program, which was worked out with Lenin's direct participation, the Party declared that it undertook to represent the interests of all working people. This by no means implied that the Party renounced its proletarian class position; on the contrary, this implied profound understanding of the special historical role of the working class and of its special position in society. "The Party of the working class, the Social Democrats," said the Program, "urges all sections of the working and exploited people to join its ranks inasmuch as they come to adhere to the viewpoint of the proletariat" (*The CPSU in Resolutions*, Part I, 7th edition, p. 39, Russ. Ed.)

On the eve of the October Revolution in Russia the Party of the working class came out as a true champion of national interests. This was one of the reasons for the mass support given to the Party's policy, and for the success of the socialist revolution. The October Revolution, developing as it did under the guidance of the Communist Party, was a proletarian and socialist revolution and at the same time a popular revolution: the working class tackled the decisive issues of the life of society "as the representative of the whole nation, of all that was virile and honest in all the classes" (Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 26, p. 75).

Describing the changed position of the Party after it became the ruling party, Lenin, in his *Message to All Party Members and to All the Toiling Classes of Russia* published on the next day after the revolution, called the Communist Party a "Party of Soviet majority" and stressed that it reliably guarded the interests of the workers, soldiers and peasants who followed the Party and were ready to win the victory for peace and socialism (Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 26 p. 273). In that period the "Soviet majority" comprised the workers, the peasants and all other working men who constituted the Russian people. In many of his writings Lenin emphasized that the Party's strength lies in that it correctly expresses the consciousness of the people.

Marxists have never confused the social composition of the Party with the interests of the different social groups it expresses. The broader the following of the social forces which the Party leads the more essential is the need to preserve its proletarian essence as a guarantee of firmness and consistency in the implementation of revolutionary changes.

With the victorious socialist revolution begins a whole period of

increasingly candid appeals for a split in the international working-class and Communist movement, for the establishment of small groups of dissenters within the existing parties, and for a struggle which, would result in the formation, in each country, of two opposed organizations. Some of the parties in Asia have accepted the Chinese positions or have fallen strongly under their influence. Elsewhere, small groups have abandoned our ranks, assumed the names of parties, and raised a certain amount of noise over it.

All in all, the great majority of Communist and Workers' parties are united and reject Peking's criticisms and attacks. If one takes a closer look at those on the margin of our movement, or in its ranks, who gravitate towards the Chinese standpoint or let themselves be influenced by it, one gets the impression that they are comrades who do not realize the basic motives of the complexity and the contradictions of the present situation, who feel the need for a revolutionary approach but are not yet able to see this approach in terms of concrete policy. They are allured by the extremist language of the Chinese, but it would be futile to look for concrete and practicable guidance to action in whatever they write or say.

We should, therefore, without any hesitation, condemn the disruptive intentions and actions of the Chinese leaders. Affirmation and defense of the unity of the working-class and Communist movement is an essential element of all our activities in our own country and on the international scene. However, we want this affirmation and defense to be carried through in harmony with all our political positions, in keeping with our idea of what the relations between individual parties and the character of the unity of the world Communist movement should be today.

Today, nobody doubts any longer that diversity is necessary in the actions of the different parties. This diversity stems from national peculiarities, from the level of development, from the different experiences and different problems facing each party. This applies equally to parties in the socialist and capitalist countries and to the backward areas and newly-independent countries. Unity cannot be secured by some centralized organization. Experience has shown this conclusively. Unity must spring from the common and key objectives of our activity and from our international solidarity.

Along with this unity, or, more precisely, as a condition of this unity, as a condition of the strength and all-round development of our entire movement, each party should have complete autonomy and independence; it should be fully responsible for its actions, above all to the working class and the other working people of its country. On due consideration you will see that it is the Chinese comrades who are today inclined to reject this principle by their importunate efforts to impose their views on us. We, on the other hand, do not depart

that the advance to socialism in the countries which only yesterday were still colonies and are therefore still backward will have its specific features, will be something quite different from what has taken place up to now. The popular movements and political forces effecting leadership in these countries will have to define their aims and stages of development most precisely. We must not allow a policy to be imposed on the Communists of these countries that does not correspond to the conditions under which they are working. The very organizational forms which are traditional for the capitalist and socialist countries, may under these conditions, be an obstacle to contacts with the broad masses and to playing a positive role in their political development.

The schematism preached by the Chinese comrades, their desire to reduce the liberation struggle to exclusively an armed struggle is also harmful and dangerous. Armed action is often inevitable in colonial conditions, but it would be a mistake to make it the only form of action, not to link it with the political activity of the masses; with the organization of the broad political alliances with all national, democratic and progressive forces. Errors of this nature are possible especially in the Latin American countries and, if we have been correctly informed, have been committed in some cases thus causing damage to the entire movement.

The Reasons for our Reservations Concerning an International Meeting

It could not be clearer, I believe, from everything I have said so far that we oppose the line which the Chinese comrades propose today to the international working-class and Communist movement. Our opposition is deep and can in no way be overcome by incidental and formal compromises, because it is rooted in our theoretical and political activities of many years, which have secured for our Party important positions among the working people, both on national and international terrain. We have never suggested that what we do should be regarded as a model for other parties; many of them function in conditions very different from ours. We ask, however, that our activity and experience be regarded as a serious contribution to the development of our movement as a whole, to the discussion and solution of the problems that exist and can be resolved only through free criticism, hard work and struggle.

We also strongly oppose the method used by the Chinese comrades to spread their views. It is not a method intended to strengthen the movement and, if necessary, to correct their own mistakes. It is a method that is intended to weaken and split the movement.

Their propaganda passed gradually from allegations of an organic rupture between large sections of the anti-imperialist struggle to

radical reorganization of society on socialist lines, eliminating all the exploiting classes and creating conditions for a gradual erasing of distinctions between the toiling classes. As the proletariat remoulds itself in the course of revolutionary change, many things change also in the Party itself, in its composition and methods of work.

At the beginning of the transition period the Party takes all necessary steps to protect its ranks from penetration by non-proletarian elements, but when the basic problems of the transition period have been solved, it makes admittance easier for all those sincerely wishing to apply themselves actively to the building of socialism and communism. The accomplishment of the tasks of socialist construction brought about a change in the class structure of Soviet society, the political awareness of the people grew, the Party became nearer and dearer to all groups of the working people, and its ideals were accepted on an ever greater scale by people as their own ideals.

The Party, which came into being as the vanguard of the working class, steadily turned into the vanguard of all working people, of the Soviet people as a whole. This was recorded in the Constitution of the Soviet Union adopted in 1936. The Constitution says that "the more active and politically-conscious citizens among the working class, working peasants and working intellectuals voluntarily unite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to build communist society..."

It took the Party almost 20 years to overcome the difficulties of the transition period and embark on the path leading to the completion of socialist construction and gradual development of socialism into communism. Because of this, the terms of admittance to the Party were different for workers and for other groups of the working people from the first years of the New Economic Policy until 1939. But at its 18th Congress, in 1939, when the transition period was over, the Party lifted the different terms of admittance (depending on social status) and introduced equal terms for all—workers, peasants or intellectuals. This was an expression of the historical fact that the non-proletarian groups of the working people had undergone radical change not only in their socio-economic conditions but also in their ideological make-up. It was also a result of the Party's assessment of the new situation which had developed as a result of the victory of socialism; and paved the way for a gradual transformation of the Communist Party into a Party of the whole people.

A terrible and devastating war had interrupted the process of development of socialist relations into communist relations, the building of the material and technical basis of communism. The process of the Party's development into a Party of the whole people was slowed down also by the Stalin personality cult and the accompanying methods of leadership alien to a Leninist Party, and by violations of the democratic rules of Party life.

However, when the country had recovered from the last war, and the Party, enriched with new experience, had worked out and substantiated the way for building communism, when resolute measures had been taken for overcoming the Stalin cult and its harmful consequences, the natural tendency of the Party to gradually develop into a Party of the whole people became especially strongly marked.

The outstanding achievements in the construction of socialism, the tremendous growth in the Soviet Union's economic and defense power resulting from this, and the formation and strengthening of the socialist world system made the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. both complete and final. Because of a growing affinity between the public property and collective-farmer co-operative property, the higher cultural standards of all the people, the process of erasing class distinctions between the workers and peasants gained momentum as did the process of erasing the distinctions between these two classes and the intellectuals. This consolidated the social homogeneity of Soviet society. The ideology of the working class and of the Party, its vanguard, became the ideology of the whole people.

These changes were bound to be reflected in the nature of the Party, in its composition and role in the life of society. This found expression in the Program and the Rules of the Party adopted at the 22nd CPSU Congress. Both the Program and the Rules emphasize that in the conditions of full-scale construction of communism the Communist Party has become a Party of the whole people.

Having embarked upon full-scale construction of communism the Party reviewed the results of its work in the years of Soviet power and was able to draw, in its new Program, the following conclusion: "As a result of the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the consolidation of the unity of Soviet society, the Communist Party of the working class has become the vanguard of the Soviet people, a Party of the whole people, and has extended its guiding influence to all spheres of social life." This theoretical conclusion is not a slogan, projected into the future, but a declaration of the actual state of our Party. It sums up the stupendous socio-economic changes which have taken place in the country. It is the concentrated expression of the many years of the Party's struggle for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the results of its work in organizing the building of a new social system, socialist reconstruction of the economy, remoulding the social relations and the world outlook of millions of people, the struggle for the consolidation of the socio-political unity of the Soviet people. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has not ceased to be a Party of the working class, for it continues to represent its communist ideals. Yet, the Communist Party in our country has become something more than the Party of the working class alone. It is now a Party of the whole people because all Soviet people have accepted the Marxist-Leninist world outlook

nationalism of the old and new type and to expose it. Here, too, the Chinese comrades are causing confusion and a split where it is essential to fight for unity, for the preservation and extension of this unity.

Having said that, I think we must honestly recognize that in this sphere there are problems that need to be more profoundly examined. The working-class movement in the leading capitalist countries has by no means accomplished the task facing it in the struggle against colonial enslavement and in support of the oppressed peoples. There is no denying that mistakes were made here, even serious ones, that caused harm to the common cause. There has always been solidarity in the struggle for national emancipation and against colonialism and racism in Asia, Africa, Latin America and also in the United States itself. This solidarity was often expressed in vigorous actions. However, we think that there has not been adequate contact, understanding and mutual assistance between the various sectors of the wide front of struggle against imperialism. The old form of colonial domination has been defeated and practically disappeared; a new form is establishing itself in some of the former colonies which have now become free states. The initiators of this new form of enslavement are the leading groups of big monopoly capital who are at the same time the enemies of any democratic reforms and social progress in the capitalist countries. An objective basis therefore exists for waging a common struggle both in the one-time mother countries and the former colonies. It rests with the proletariat and the working masses to show the initiative in carrying on this struggle more effectively. But it is not enough just to talk about this initiative. It must be realized in the form of a clear program of concrete demands which affect the structure of the monopoly economy, thus preparing the ground for joint actions in the sphere of international relations and also with the peoples and even the governments of the newly-emergent countries.

But in order to accomplish this we must consider these people and their governments without prejudice; we must know their conditions of life and development, and their organizations; we must establish close contacts between these organizations and similar organizations of the working people in our countries; we must in this way lay the foundation for a truly joint struggle against the common enemy. If the parties in the big capitalist countries will not be able to co-ordinate their effort and to advance along this path they will then not be able to accomplish one of their main tasks.

A great achievement of our theory and a very inspiring one for the future is the fact that the peoples and governments of the newly-emergent countries have openly proclaimed their desire to build a socialist economy and a socialist society. But here too we must avoid dogmatism and a superficial approach. We must realize

to preaching revolutionary action which afterwards we will not know how to effect and what concretely it should correspond to. For us revolution is a process that is being carried forward today by a combination of actions affecting all spheres of public life. We are working already today to give a new meaning to democracy, having in mind not restricted and controversial external forms but political and economic reforms, the direct participation of the masses in controlling and directing the economy, the extension of the rights of the workers' organizations when resolving new tasks, the renewal of the entire civil and social order.

Thus already today we inseparably link the cause of socialism with the cause of democracy and open the way to socialism. Our unflagging struggle for the unity of the working class and of all democratic and popular forces, like the character and forms of our Party's organization and internal life, are in conformity with our political concept and its basic elements. No objections, no criticism, no attacks by the Chinese comrades against us can in any way affect our line of action or disprove its correctness and effectiveness.

The Liberation Struggle of the Colonial Peoples and the Working-Class and Communist Movement

I think, we should approach in a similar manner another problem which is in the centre of the strategic and tactical platform elaborated by the Chinese comrades, that of the liberation movement of the colonial peoples who have recently won their independence, this movement's role in the struggle against imperialism and its further development. Also in this case the Chinese comrades proceed from completely erroneous positions. They turn this movement into the principal directing force of the entire anti-imperialist struggle, they isolate it from the rest of the movement and place it in opposition to it. This is not only a mistake; it is an exceedingly dangerous thing to do. The great successes achieved in the past twenty years by the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples are connected with the complex of changes that have taken place in the world; they are due, therefore, to a large extent, to the crisis of the capitalist structure whose chief factor was the victorious construction of socialism in the Soviet Union and the formation of the camp of socialist countries. The stronger these countries become the more clearly the oppressed peoples and the newly-emergent countries will see the perspective of complete emancipation. It is sheer madness to tell the oppressed people, as some of the Chinese do in their documents, that the socialist countries are imperialistic and resemble the bourgeois imperialists. This shows a desire to want to undermine solidarity, the possibility of co-operation, the unity of intentions and aims which are one of the most important mainstays in the fight against imperialism. These actions therefore make it still more difficult to fight the colo-

of the working class and its ideals. These are the vital dialectics of the development of Soviet society.

In the period of socialist construction in our country there were classes and social groups that were hostile to the working class, groups that wavered between socialism and capitalism, between the working class and the bourgeoisie. At that time the Party which embodied the class positions of the proletariat waged a long and difficult struggle to win first the majority of the people, and then the *entire* people, to the side of the working class. The conclusion that our Party has become a party of the whole people is an acknowledgement of the fact that this struggle has been crowned with complete success.

All Soviet working people—the peasants, former artisans and working intellectuals—gradually took the side of the working class and came to realize the community of their interests with those of the working class as expressed in the fullest possible way by the Communist Party. In the course of the struggle for the triumph of socialism all Soviet people came to accept the policy of the Communist Party as their own, to accept the Party's guidance and today regard the Party as the sole champion of the common interests of all working people. That is why the party of the working class has become a party of the whole people.

Our Party is definitely a party of the people in its goals, its policy to achieve these goals and in its composition (the best people from all sections of Soviet society are represented in it: the workers, the peasants and the intellectuals). *The entire Soviet people are interested in the attainment of the ultimate goal—communism, and this is the firmest foundation for a party of the entire people, the organizer and leader of the work of building communism.*

The democratic methods of its activities also conform to the nature of a party of the whole people. The CPSU is backed by the moral prestige of its policy and leadership and the acknowledgement of this by the broadest mass of the population. The Party invites the people to discuss the most important economic and political problems of development and takes guidance from the people's collective reason. "The strength of our Party lies in the fact," says N.S. Khrushchov, "that it acts jointly with the entire people and that non-Party working people work side by side with Party members" (*The Construction of Communism in the USSR and the Development of Agriculture*, Vol. 4, p. 102, Russ. Ed.).

The new Program has recorded what has already become a reality and will become more and more apparent in the future. The conclusion that there are no longer any classes or sections of society hostile to socialism and, consequently, no class struggle in Soviet society, that the Soviet state is a state of the whole people and that the CPSU is a party of the whole people, are not abstract formulas.

They spring from the life of our society, the Party's realistic policy, which corresponds to the new historical period, and is aimed at enlisting all Soviet people in building communism and the management of society, at promoting the people's activity and extending socialist democracy.

Marxism-Leninism does not regard the transformation of the CPSU into a Party of the whole people as a single act; it views this transformation as a process begun a long time ago and calling for a further improvement in the methods of Party guidance and for the Party and the people drawing still closer to one another. In the past our Party was a party of a single class, now it is a party of the whole people, and in future—mature communism—it will gradually develop into a new type of organization of society.

Theoretically it can be assumed that the Communist Party will not exist for ever as a political organization: there will be no need for it when a mature communist society has been built. But it will remain as a public organization necessary for managing the affairs of society. Lenin expressed this idea in one of the most important documents of the Second Congress of the Comintern, in the resolution "The Role of the Communist Party in the Proletarian Revolution." This document drew the conclusion that towards the final victory of communism there may take place a gradual merger of the three main types of organization—the Soviets, the trade unions and the Party—into a single type of organization. It is hard to say now how this process will proceed in actual life. But the theoretical direction given to it by Lenin is already being borne out by life.

These are the dialectics of the development of the Communist Party and it is natural that the conclusions set forth in the documents of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU should have met with the complete understanding of Marxist-Leninists all over the world. They were accepted by all who, in studying the life of society, proceed from Marxism-Leninism which demands that one should "take cognizance of actual events, of the precise facts of reality, and not cling to a theory of yesterday, which, like all theories, at best only outlines the main and the general, and only *approximates* to an inclusive grasp of the complexities of life" (Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 24, p. 26).

MAIN ARGUMENT OF THE CHINESE THEORISTS

What is apparent to every Marxist-Leninist who accepts the laws of dialectics not merely in words, but wants to use them as a guide in analyzing social phenomena, evokes sharp protest on the part of the Chinese leaders.

The Chinese leaders do not take up the theoretical problems of Party development. They are clearly unwilling to disclose their obvious departure from the basic or, as they like to put it, "general"

tions. At present we are not in a position to carry on an effective struggle of the working masses in Parliament. But we are carrying out this activity within the economic and political framework of capitalist society with the subject of winning progressive gains and reforms that will change this regime; constantly strengthening and securing the positions of the working classes and their organizations, weakening the power of the ruling capitalist classes, particularly of their most reactionary and decisive groups which today are the groups of big monopoly capital.

This may be said to be a new strategy which is being developed in the long struggle for democracy and socialism. But the conditions exist making this strategy possible and necessary: the broad development of the organizations of the working masses and their growing militancy, a widespread democratic spirit and the ability to mobilize the popular masses which make more difficult reactionary adventures on the part of the bourgeoisie; a notable shift among large sections of the middle-class in town and countryside towards the positions adopted by the working class in the fight against big monopoly capital, thus making possible broader social alliances; the existence of intermediary parties who accept a program of democratic and social reforms which, in turn, makes for co-operation of a new type; finally, a profound crisis in the traditional bourgeois order which is compelling the ruling classes to look for new forms of directing the economy and which, consequently, makes it possible to carry on a struggle for radical reforms in this sphere. All this makes it possible and necessary to find new ways of coming to power through the creation of a coalition of forces socially and politically progressive.

In fighting to advance towards socialism in conditions of democracy and peace, we do not only aim to exclude, as far as we are concerned, the hypothesis of an armed insurrection and civil war, but also to resolve, in a new way, the problems connected with organizing a socialist society. We feel it is necessary to impart a democratic content to this organization in all its phases; to avoid the mistakes, restrictions, and distortions that occurred elsewhere; not to reject the democratic gains already won and the method of struggle corresponding to it; to permit, therefore, the existence of several organized political forces and the possibility of co-operating with them, which was the exception at one time but which now from our viewpoint must become the rule. We by no means renounce our ultimate aim—the destruction of capitalist exploitation and the creation of a classless society—but we want to achieve this through a broad movement which supports and develops all that is positive in democratic institutions that the peoples have won at the price of a bitter struggle and great sacrifices.

We know it will not be easy to advance along this path, but it is a path that has to be traversed, if we do not want to confine ourselves

political and social progress must henceforth take place everywhere only in peaceful forms. We have never said anything so preposterous. We are well aware what role violence has always played and continues to play in history, in the struggle of the peoples for their independence and in the class struggle.

But we hasten to add that not in all situations can there be a call to revolutionary violence and that the most profound revolutionary advances and transformations are possible without it. Cuba and Algeria liberated themselves as a result of a long armed struggle; but there are dozens of colonial peoples who won their independence without having to go through this ordeal, as a result of a mass movement which developed in more favorable conditions than in the past.

This question must therefore be studied; it can be resolved only on the basis of a correct assessment of the concrete conditions of the struggle determining both the aims and the forms of its organization and development. I should like to note here that I consider the rigid counterposing of the peaceful and non-peaceful path of development somewhat schematic and abstract. There exists the movement of the working class and working masses for their economic and political demands, for social transformations and reforms. This movement must develop in keeping with the situation. Its leaders must know how to orientate and direct this movement, must be fully prepared to measure up to changes and objective turns so as never to lose control over events. Between 1943 and 1945 we fought with arms in hand. It would have been sheer folly had we not after victory, passed to legal forms of struggle on a democratic basis, for the events taking place at the time tended to change the character of the struggle, without affecting its principal aims, however. What is essential is the link that unites into a single process all the phases of the movement, the existence of a large mass movement that is ready for action at all times. What is dangerous is any division or arbitrary and schematic counterposing which regards the peaceful struggle as stagnation or renunciation and condemns the struggle waged by non-peaceful means, when this is necessary, as adventurism. The discussion conducted along these lines is still, however, far from being a concrete examination of present-day reality. But on this question too the Chinese comrades show their utter inability to make even a minimum positive contribution.

To allege as they do that we have slid down to opportunism of the social-democratic type because we think it possible to pass on to socialism by winning 50 per cent of the vote plus one more is another convenient falsification. Parliament is part of the political structure of the democratic type of society and it can, to a lesser or greater degree, be a representative body and perform democratic functions, which weaken or strengthen its importance and its possibilities to engage in activities other than mere agitation and making declara-

Marxist truths. As the initial prerequisite for their attacks on the CPSU Program the Chinese "theorists" set forth this sole argument: "the dictatorship of the proletariat is inevitable until a country enters a higher phase of communist society." They assert that the "withering away of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the withering away of the state," and as long as the dictatorship of the proletariat exists, the Party should also be a party of the proletariat. Not in the least abashed in asserting this, the Chinese leaders ascribe their own inventions to Marx and Lenin and "defend" them from "modern revisionists." Let us see, however, from whom the Marxist-Leninist theory of the State and the Party should be defended.

Perhaps it should be guarded against those who see no difference between the bourgeois state, the state of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism and the state of a mature socialist society advancing to a higher phase of communism? Perhaps it should be defended from those who apply the same old formulas to all periods of history?

The Chinese leaders deliberately impose the laws of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism on socialist society in general. In their articles they cite only those quotations from the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin in which communism is regarded as a socioeconomic formation generally. Anyone who has taken the trouble to study conscientiously the works of Marx and Lenin knows full well that they distinguished different phases in this formation: the first phase—socialism, and the higher phase—complete communism.

In his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Marx wrote: "Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the first into the second. This period conforms also with the political transitional period and the state of this period cannot be anything but a *revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*" (Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Ed., Vol. 19, p. 27, Russ. Ed.).

It is actually this quotation, snatched out of context of Marx's exposition, that is used as a theoretical basis for "rejecting" the CPSU Program's thesis about the state of the whole people. The Peking propagandists do not anywhere quote the following two lines from the same work, which says this apropos the Gotha Program: "But the program does not concern itself with either this last (i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat—Ed.) or the future *statehood in communist society*." (Our emphasis—Ed.)

If one were to follow the logic of the Chinese "theoreticians," Marx should be declared an anti-Marxist for expressing this idea. Indeed, what statehood *will follow* the dictatorship of the proletariat, the withering away of which, in the Chinese theoreticians' opinion, is the withering away of statehood in general?

The "Chinese-style Marxists" stubbornly deny that when Marx

spoke about the period of transition from capitalism to communism he had in mind the first phase of *communism—socialism*. They also remain silent about Lenin's conclusion in "*The State and Revolution* and other works, where he carefully summed up *everything* Marx and Engel had said on the state, namely that: "What is usually called socialism was termed by Marx the 'first' or lower phase of communist society. Insofar as the means of production become *common* property, the word 'communism' is also applicable here," provided we do not forget that it is *not* complete communism" (*Works*, Vol. 25, p. 442).

Lenin clearly defined also the essence and aims of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a special form of class alliance between the proletariat and the numerous non-proletarian groups of the working people aimed at complete overthrow of capitalism, suppression of the resistance of the bourgeoisie and their attempts at restoring capitalism, an alliance for the final establishment and consolidation of socialism (*Works*, Vol. 29, p. 351). Removal of the danger of capitalist restoration signifies, in his opinion, also "the cessation of the dictatorship of the proletariat" (*Works*, Vol. 33, p. 75). Lenin did not ignore Marx's profound idea of "the future statehood of communist society," which emerges after the dictatorship of the proletariat has fulfilled its historical mission.

Developing Marx's views on this question, Lenin writes:

"Thus, even 'communist society' will have statehood!! Isn't there a contradiction here?"

"No, there is not:

"I—in capitalist society—the state in the proper sense

"I—transition (the dictatorship of the proletariat): the state of a transitional type (not the state in the proper sense)

"III—communist society: the withering away of the state

"Full consistency and clarity!!

"Otherwise:

"I—democracy as an exception only, never a full one . . ."

"I—democracy almost full, limited only by *suppression* of the resistance of the bourgeoisie

"III—democracy genuinely full, becoming habitual and *therefore* withering away . . ." (*Marxism on the State*, pp. 53-55).

In our country the first two periods noted by Lenin above are already things of the past. A state of the whole people has emerged and is developing in the Soviet Union—*communist statehood*, the statehood of the *first phase of communism*. This new communist statehood is destined to develop gradually into communist public self-government, and this development is not a theoretical forecast any longer, but something that is taking place in Soviet life.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is indispensable for the transi-

Abstract discussion and quotation mongering regarding the nature of imperialism add nothing to what we have always known and constantly remember. But it is one thing to compile quotations and another thing to act, to move ahead in a world where a new world war can only be connected with the prospect of the destruction of our civilization, in a world whose structure has changed, in a world where imperialism is no longer the sole dominant force, in a world where profound new changes are maturing.

The enemies of a delicate and peace are active, they are offering resistance, are trying to preserve the unity of their front, are kindling flames in many areas in order to start new fires. We cannot afford to interrupt our struggle, we must watch all those areas where peace is threatened, see to it that we are always in a position to ensure the intervention of a powerful mass movement in defense of peace.

We reject the harmful position which the Chinese comrades have taken on international issues, going so far as to play with the catastrophic idea of a nuclear war which could wipe entire nations off the earth. We reaffirm, in this connection, all our previous positions. But we agree to wage the struggle against imperialism vigorously and effectively on the basis we consider to be correct.

Democratic and Peaceful Advance to Socialism in the Developed Capitalist Countries

The problem to which we have paid the greatest attention when studying it and in an effort to apply and further develop the revolutionary theory of Marxism is undoubtedly the problem of the democratic and peaceful transition to socialism in the developed capitalist countries. We tried to give the correct answer to this question immediately after the defeat of fascism and the conquest of a democratic regime, realizing that we would have to wage the struggle in conditions very different from those in which the conquest of power was achieved in other countries. Consequently this problem from the very outset laid its imprint on all the Party's activity. It was theoretically endorsed and concretely formulated at our last three national congresses. It is on this very issue that we have our greatest differences with the positions defended today by the Chinese comrades who have in this connection launched their polemic against us, which they are conducting in the most violent language.

An analysis of the nature of their polemics shows first of all a deliberate falsification to suit their ends, to enable the Chinese comrades to represent themselves as the defenders and interpreters of the elementary principles of theory and practice. The distortion is in the attempts to prove that we allege that open revolutionary actions no longer have any place in the modern world because all

nese Prime Minister, Chou En-lai visited several Asian and African states. The statements he made in the capitals of these states correspond, in substance and form, to the basic policy and demands of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, as well as the international working-class movement, even though he assiduously took care not to refer to them.

What does this mean? Did the Chinese Prime Minister forget all the principal propaganda points of his Party; maybe he forgot that these demands are incompatible with the nature of imperialism, that to insist on peaceful coexistence is tantamount to plotting with leading American circles, that the atomic weapon must be diffused throughout the world and that the partial test ban was a mistake? No, he did not forget all this. But he realized that all this must be shelved if he wanted to discuss international issues as they need to be discussed with due regard for present-day conditions and the concrete objectives that can be attained by the co-ordinated efforts of the countries desiring peace, by a mass movement and by all who, whatever the reason, reject the perspective of a new world war. It means that we have here a profound contradiction, the collapse of all the propaganda the Chinese leaders have been carrying on for many years now on these international issues. But it is a collapse we greet as fresh confirmation of the correctness of the method which we hold should be followed in the fight for peace and against imperialism.

This struggle has its source in the premise that war is no longer inevitable, that a new world conflict and, consequently, the annihilation of entire peoples, and maybe the whole of humanity in the fire of a nuclear holocaust, can be averted. It is this premise that gives a concrete content to our policy and does not reduce it to mere agitation, for it establishes a real perspective and imparts positive meaning to all demands and partial gains.

The Chinese leaders sent Comrade Khrushchov a courteous telegram on the occasion of his birthday. We appreciate the call to unity in that telegram, but we think it does not present the question correctly. The Chinese comrades state that the Soviet Union and People's China, despite their present differences, will undoubtedly be united in the future, in the event of imperialist attacks against them. Thus unity is linked, in effect, with the perspective of war, and a world war at that. But it is precisely this perspective that we want to reject because we believe it can be averted taking into account the balance of forces in the world today. However, to avoid war action is necessary, a struggle against imperialism is necessary. If this struggle is to be successful, unity is necessary today not only between the Soviet Union and People's China, but of all the socialist countries, of the working-class movement and all peace forces, irrespective of what they adhere to.

tion to socialism. It is necessary in state form for the complete and final victory of socialism. But by virtue of the laws of its internal development, at a definite stage—the stage of mature socialism—the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat turns into the state of the whole people. And the latter is a most important landmark on the way to the development of socialist statehood into communist public self-government, on the way to the withering away of the state in general.

Powerless to prove anything in substance, the Chinese "theoreticians" resort to the following argument. They assert: "Anyone with an elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism knows that the so-called state of the whole people is nothing new. Representative bourgeois figures always called the bourgeois state a 'state of the whole people,' or a 'state in which power belongs to all the people.'"

A strong argument, indeed! By this logic, Communists would have to renounce socialism because there exist many different anti-Marxist "socialist" doctrines. They would also have to abandon the realization of such slogans as freedom, equality, fraternity, democracy for the sole reason that they were put forward by the bourgeois revolution and subsequently perverted and debased by the bourgeoisie on coming to power. Communists, on the contrary, maintain that the true meaning of these slogans should be revived, that these slogans should be carried into practice, and that this is possible only under socialism and communism. The same applies to the state of the whole people. When Lassalle spoke about such a state, or when imperialist ideologists speak of it today, the Marxists rightly reply: this is deception of the people. A state of the whole people or a party of the whole people cannot exist in a society split into hostile classes. A state of the whole people that develops out of the dictatorship of the proletariat which has accomplished its historic mission with the complete and final victory of socialism and the country's entry into the period of full-scale communist construction, is an entirely different matter.

Having got tied up in the importunate repetition of quotations snatched out of context and seeing the senselessness of the attempt to palm off distortion of Marxism as genuine Marxism, the Chinese propagandists are trying to make believe that the Soviet Union is still going through the transitional period, that the question "who will win" has not yet been solved completely and finally in our country, that "there still exists the danger of restoration of capitalism," and that therefore there is still need for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the proletarian Party. These ideas are given wide publicity by the Chinese press. Specifically, they are contained in the briefing speech Chou Yang, assistant head of the propaganda department of the Central Committee of the CPC, made before social science workers on October 26, 1963.

The Chinese leaders would like to see the Soviet Union not as it is today, but in the conditions which obtained some 35 years ago, during the NEP period. Can one argue with people resorting to such methods? Perhaps, they should be referred to pronouncements of the man whose ideas they accept unreservedly and whose name they readily use in the struggle against the CPSU and the international Communist movement.

For some reason the Chinese leaders pretend that they have not read Stalin's report on the New Constitution, or his report to the 18th Congress of the Party, or his other speeches in which it is pointed out that already in the mid-thirties the question "who will win" was solved in the Soviet Union once and for all, the exploiting classes were liquidated, and socialism scored a complete victory. To believe the Chinese leaders, the Soviet Union has made no progress since then, and, what is more, the country still faces problems that were solved long ago.

That classes still exist under socialism is axiomatic. The important thing is what kind of classes. Socialist society in the U.S.S.R. consists of friendly classes—the workers and peasants, and the social group of the people's intelligentsia. They are welded together by the community of vital interests, by Marxist-Leninist ideology, and by a common goal: the building of communism.

Whereas the period of transition from capitalism to socialism is characterized by the existence of overthrown but not yet liquidated exploiting classes and, consequently, by class struggle, the transition from socialism to communism takes place in the condition of socio-political and ideological unity of society. The Chinese leaders do not want to reckon with this. Evidently they believe that the CPSU should pursue a policy of class struggle in the country, artificially foment enmity between the workers and collective farmers, egg on the workers and the collective farmers against the intelligentsia.

Why does the CPC leadership, despite self-evident facts, fabricate concoctions about class struggle in Soviet society? The purpose of these specious and at the same time very naive methods is not hard to guess. Their heads turning from outstanding victories in the national liberation revolution, which chiefly accomplished anti-imperialist, bourgeois-democratic tasks, the leaders of the Communist Party of China clearly underestimated both the difficulties of the transitional period and the time needed for it. The mania of hegemonism drove them onto the path of adventurist leaps in the economy. Take the question of Party building. Already at the Eighth Congress in 1956, i.e., only seven years after the victory of the revolution on a nationwide scale, equal terms for admission into the Party were introduced, irrespective of social status. And this in an incomparably more petty-bourgeois country than Russia used to be. The first successes in

tablished, in the course of the struggle to remedy this harm, closer co-operation and unity with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leaders. This unity should be further developed.

The concept of socialist democracy must be fully restored in our movement, by which is meant not only legality, equality and fraternity, but also the active participation of the masses both in economic and state construction. The socialist state cannot be something that exists apart from the working masses, which they obey as a benevolent but nonetheless alien power. That is why we hailed and approved the new Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which aims to create a state of all people. The Chinese criticism in this respect is unfounded and dangerous.

For the working-class movement of the capitalist countries it is important that the remnants of the past in this connection be rapidly eliminated. And we should not fear innovations, new forms of organization such as the self-government practised in Yugoslavia, for example, which gives the working masses new possibilities for displaying their initiative in the economic and social spheres, compels them to assume the effective function of control and direction in the economy and in society. If mistakes are made along this path there is always time and ways of rectifying them. The biggest mistake is inaction, clinging to organizational forms which no longer give rein to the animating and creative drive of the masses.

We, too, in our movement, in developing trade union activity and organizing workers at the enterprises, are faced with similar problems, which is a sign that a socialist consciousness is maturing among the working class. There is a certain connection between the progress achieved in the socialist countries and what we are working for. Hence, co-operation and unity are essential in facing these problems with courage and resolving them correctly.

It is in this that the indissoluble connection between democracy and socialism must be clearly established. When the Chinese comrades speak of the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat but in the same breath refuse to criticize the regime established under Stalin, they are thereby doing a bad service to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the final analysis they virtually identify it with that regime, thus preventing the full restoration, both in theory and practice, of the concept which, unless the development of the democratic character of the state and of the democratic life of the masses is consistently and fully ensured, will have nothing in common with socialism.

To Ensure the Intervention of a Powerful Mass Movement in Defense of Peace

As regards international policy and the struggle against imperialism I should like once again to note what happened when the Chi-

like to undermine the prestige of the first socialist state, which was a big gain in the minds of the masses, aims to cause a split and confusion among the socialist states, misunderstanding and hostility between these countries and the movement for the liberation and emancipation of the oppressed peoples, to destroy the indispensable solidarity and militant unity between the Soviet Union and the working-class movement in the leading capitalist countries. In every one of these spheres all attempts to create a dangerous and fatal rupture must be vigorously opposed.

In resolving their varied problems, in enhancing their economic potential and the general standard of well-being of their peoples, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are thereby acting in the interests of the entire revolutionary movement. They are thereby reinforcing the might of the socialist system and demonstrating its superiority. We venture to add here that this superiority, apart from the standard of well-being of the people, has its roots in the very nature of the socialist system, in the character of government, in the principles regulating the national economy, in the attitude to the individual, to his education, to his conscience, in the free and full development of his personality.

To the socialist countries, to the working class has fallen the task of building a society in which not only the well-being, but also the freedom and dignity of all its citizens are ensured to an equal degree. The development of the productive forces, technology, science and culture in all the socialist countries is making for this. This raises the task of the synthesis, the unity of the socialist countries among themselves, as well as with the national-liberation movements and the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries.

The Chinese comrades should always remember that their heroic struggle against imperialism and colonialism would most probably not have been crowned with such a sweeping victory had it not been for the existence of the might of the Soviet Union, the fact that it was thanks to this might that fascism was defeated in Europe and Japanese imperialism in Asia, the fact that the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union led to profound changes in the balance of forces throughout the world. This applies to all the other peoples formerly enslaved by colonialism and who have now won their freedom. The stronger the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries will be economically and politically the greater will be the concrete aid and political support these peoples will receive in their struggle for complete emancipation. The same holds true for the working-class and mass movement in the more developed capitalist countries.

We know that in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries schematism and dogmatism which prevailed in the Stalin period caused considerable harm. That is precisely why we have es-

economic development and in uniting the peasants in co-operatives turned the heads of the Chinese leaders, gave them the idea that the transitional period was already past and that, through the communes, China would be able to attain communism rapidly—sooner than the socialist countries of Europe, the Soviet Union included.

Objective reality hits back cruelly when disregarded. The economically unsubstantiated, maximalist slogans fell through and the country's economy paid dearly for them. Then, seeking to conceal its miscalculations, the Chinese leadership launched a noisy propaganda campaign designed to make believe that not only in China, but also in the U.S.S.R. and all socialist countries the tasks of the transitional period had not been accomplished, that the U.S.S.R. was a country somewhat richer than China but as far removed from communism as China with respect to social gains.

This is tantamount to insisting at noon that it is only daybreak. Such statements show that the people who make them could not care less for what time it really is.

The CPC leaders declaim with shrill revolutionary zeal: "In the view of Marxist-Leninists, there is no such thing as a non-class or supra-class political party. All political parties have a class character. Party spirit is the concentrated expression of class character." This is a truism of Marxism-Leninism. But the Chinese ideologists are not inclined to ponder over problems raised by life: in what is the class character of a Marxist-Leninist party expressed in socialist society free from antagonistic classes, where the exploiters have been liquidated and exploitation of man by man abolished forever, where the socio-political unity of society has been consolidated?

Communists reply: the class character of a Marxist-Leninist party in such a society is expressed in its loyalty to communism—that supreme class principle of the international proletariat; in the building of communism—that ultimate goal of the international working class. It is expressed in its irreconcilable attitude towards capitalism and the exploiters and all forms of imperialist, national and political oppression.

"Simplified Marxism" treats all matters, regardless of place and circumstances, in a primitive fashion, following one stereotyped pattern, the same for all times and types of society: parties—antagonistic classes—class struggle. Why should our country revert to stages of life that are already past history, just because the Chinese leaders do not want to or cannot understand the life of our socialist country, the struggle of our people for communism, and just because they assess the situation in other countries only by the situation in their own. In order to understand class nature correctly, in the Leninist way, the Chinese leaders should go by the facts of life and not by primitive, stereotyped patterns, or, as they like to say themselves, "walk on both legs and not on one or on one and a half."

WHAT DO THEY NEED THIS FOR?

It is wrong to regard the Chinese leaders as people who are genuinely interested in having a discussion on questions of principle, in finding out the truth. The methods they use show clearly that there is a definite purpose behind all their fulmination against those who regard the transformation of a proletarian party into a party of the whole people as a logical process.

Historically, it so happened that the propositions on the nature of the CPSU as a party of the whole people were elaborated at a time when the Party was combating the effects of the Stalin cult and when objective possibilities had been created in the country for a fuller satisfaction of the people's requirements.

The Chinese leaders are highly sensitive about this. Denying the popular character of the CPSU, they are indignant over the fact that the Soviet Communists "tirelessly propagate such slogans as 'everything in the name of man, for the benefit of man.'" In his briefing report, Chou Yang does not have the courage to admit that in the present conditions the level of productive forces in China and the adventurist, subjectivist course of the Chinese leaders do not allow them to pursue such a policy. Therefore the thesis is "substantiated" that the slogan "everything in the name of man" can be put forward "only with the advent of the epoch of communism all over the world." Carried away in briefing social science workers, Chou Yang "forgets" what is written in the Rules of the CPC adopted in 1956, when the Chinese leaders pursued a basically correct policy. Yet the Rules of the CPC say that "the chief aim of the entire work of the Party is to satisfy to the maximum the material and cultural requirements of the people" (see *Records of the Eighth National Congress of the CPC*, p. 509), which only differs verbally from the wording now being criticized by the Chinese leaders. This is yet another example of departure from correct positions, of a revision of even their own documents, revealing the theoretical and political inconsistency of the CPC leaders. Evidently China's internal situation does not enable Chinese leaders to speak of raising the well-being of the people now. That is why they clamp down upon a party which regards concern for the welfare of the people as the supreme principle of its activities. The struggle against the Stalin cult launched by the CPSU was obviously unpalatable to the Chinese leaders, because it hit at the personality cult which has assumed truly unheard-of proportions in China. Having admitted, at first, that the 20th Congress of the CPSU "has given convincing explanations of the tremendous importance of strict observance of the principle of collective leadership and of the struggle against the personality cult," Peking declared soon afterwards that the struggle of the CPSU and of the entire international Communist movement against the personality cult was "erroneous."

is inadmissible, shameful and dangerous for the entire working-class movement. There are no facts whatsoever that could justify this campaign.

As for the differences between the two states we do not know what bearing they could have had in deciding the Chinese comrades to renew their attacks; but we do know that it is the duty of these comrades as leaders of a socialist state to discuss these issues in a different way from the method used in the relations between bourgeois states: they should not have started because of this, a frenzied campaign of accusations and slander but should have, instead, patiently and calmly tried to find a solution through the necessary contacts and on the basis of mutual understanding. Otherwise ordinary people might ask, and rightly so, in what way are the socialist states different from the bourgeois states and should not the same basis and social structure make for the adoption of methods other than the method of attack which can only lead to a further sharpening of the differences. In fact, the behaviour of the Chinese comrades towards the Soviet Union undermines the confidence of the broad masses in the ideas of socialism.

It is impossible and absurd to deny the fact that the Soviet Union—the first socialist state achieved through revolutionary struggle, built, defended and made powerful by the labor of generations and at the price of incalculable sacrifices—occupies a special place and shoulders a special responsibility in the community of socialist countries and the entire working-class movement. But it is common knowledge that after the death of Stalin it was the Soviet leaders who insisted that every Communist Party should be regarded as autonomous and independent and held responsible for the development of its policy in its own country. That was the meaning of the decision to dissolve the Communist International approved in 1944. However, when the Soviet comrades made the solemn declaration rejecting the concept of the Soviet Party, being the leader and the state being the leader, which concept was to be approved by all the parties, it was the Chinese comrades who raised objections. Why have they changed their opinion? Maybe because they themselves would like to be the leader? The autonomy and independence of every Party are for us questions of principle, the condition for the development of the movement in the present situation. And they do not contradict international proletarian solidarity and its application in practice; they do not contradict the community of aims of the entire movement or the co-operation between the various parties, which is necessary and indispensable. They constitute the form in which unity in the struggle against imperialism and for socialism must be realized today.

The anti-Soviet campaign of the Chinese comrades who would

It is this refusal to recognize the fact that Marxism is being creatively developed in keeping with the present conditions of the struggle against imperialism and for socialism that explains, I think, most of the erroneous positions of the Chinese. This refusal is accompanied by an attempt to interpret the present conditions in a way that is completely at variance with the fundamental principle of Marxism theory and the concrete precepts of Lenin and also with the necessity for action which aims to be successful. Thus, we have here a strange mixture of pseudo-revolutionary Trotskyite phraseology and views that are of a directly opposite nature as, for example, the view that it is the peasant masses of the underdeveloped countries who should head the world movement for socialism and not the countries of socialism and the international proletariat. Incidentally, in their domestic economic policy the Chinese leaders swung from one extreme to another without explaining why—from a forced march to a system which is almost already a Communist one and whose industrial development is even more rapid than that of the Soviet Union, to the present subordination of the entire economic development to the needs of agriculture.

We are well aware that these are internal problems of the Chinese Party. But why does this Party, which chooses to judge and condemn all the other parties in its own way, take exception when it is asked to give an explanation of its policy? Why do its leaders not want to recognize their own mistakes, why do they not openly state what have been their mistakes, as the leaders of all Communist parties should do. The real reason is that the extremist agitation carried on by the Chinese leaders conceals their confusion, their deliberate falsification of the correct positions which we are today defending; it also conceals their weaknesses which are a direct consequence of their inability, even more, their refusal to take a realistic view of the situation in which we are living today. This is the case as concerns both the socialist world and the struggle against imperialism, as well as the development of the national-liberation movement. Even in those instances where the Chinese comrades do consider existing problems that need to be solved, they show their inability to abandon pseudo-revolutionary phraseology, to measure up to the conditions of objective reality and to propose solutions that are feasible.

The Autonomy and Sovereignty of Every Party are for us the Condition for the Development of the Movement in the Present Situation

We consider that the campaign which the Chinese leaders are conducting against the Soviet Union, against its foreign and home policy, against its leaders, and, especially, against Comrade Khrushchov

and "harmful." The Chinese leaders use Stalin's name in order to laud fallacious methods of leadership, camouflage violations of the standards of Party life and, while extolling themselves, slander the leaders of other Communist parties who denounce the unseemly behaviour of the Peking splitters.

Visitors to China get a distinct impression that the study of Marxism-Leninism there is limited to the study of the works of one person only. At any rate nobody says that he reads works by Marx and Engels, that he has read at least one work by the founders of scientific communism. The infinitesimal number of copies of Lenin's *Works* published in China makes them practically inaccessible to readers at large.

But the works of Mao Tse-tung, issued in a printing of more than 380 million copies, are described everywhere as the sun illuminating the road, as the ultimate in wisdom. Party members are urged to keep Mao's works in three places—at home, in the pocket and at your place of work, and to recall Mao's behests at least three times a day. The pious attitude towards Mao's personality is also manifested in that he is thanked for the food the Chinese receive, for the health of the children, for a stroke of luck.

It is not hard to understand why the Chinese leaders, having created such a mystical atmosphere around Mao's personality, oppose the CPSU, which has boldly exposed the Stalin cult and demonstrated the incompatibility of any personality cult with Marxism-Leninism.

The Chinese leaders are inculcating in the Party practices which have little in common with democracy, and cultivating morals notoriously known as an inevitable product of the personality cult.

The Eighth Congress of the CPC described it as a serious shortcoming that no Party congress had been convened in the previous 11 years. This self-criticism, however, was purely formal. According to the new Rules, congresses are to be convened once every five years, but nothing has been heard about the next CPC Congress, although more than seven and a half years have passed since the Eighth Congress. Furthermore, if one recalls that in the past four years the CPC leaders have made such a sharp turn in policy which only a Congress should have the authority to make, it will become even clearer why the Chinese leaders revile the proposition about the popular character of the Party and the broadening of democratic practices stemming from these propositions.

If the leaders of the Communist Party of China were more consistent, they would have "to expose" the documents of the 8th Congress of their own Party. For these documents speak of the fallaciousness of attempts to build socialism singlehanded, in isolation from the rest of the world (see *Records of the Eighth National Congress of the CPC*, Gospolitizdat, 1956, p. 132. Russ. Ed.); of experience having

shown that whenever leaders tried to set an unrealistic pace they have been brought up sharply—"more haste, less speed" (p. 224); of the great importance of the assistance rendered by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to People's China (pp. 4, 125, 164, etc.); of the impermissibility of arrogant, Great-Power attitudes and conceit because of the victory of the revolution and certain successes in construction (p. 5); of petty-bourgeois vices being like weeds, which "are not completely burned down by the steppe fire and grow again at a whiff of the spring wind" (p. 374). All this appears today as sharp criticism of the present line of the Chinese leaders. The CPC leaders behave as if there had been no 8th Congress of the Party. Instead, they violently attack everything that is being done in the Soviet Union, and the criticism of the idea of the popular character of the Party is merely a part of their efforts to distract the Chinese people from the internal hardships resulting from their incorrect policy.

In recent years the Chinese press has been treating questions of Party life more and more sparingly, and has written very little about methods of Party leadership. This subject is being avoided, and treated as a kind of "military secret." An idea of the prevailing style can be gained from the persistent claims that "policy is the commanding force," a proposition serving as a theoretical substantiation, as it were of voluntarism and administration by mere injunction, and as an admission, made from time to time by provincial newspapers, that not a few Party workers have become accustomed to being sole taskmasters, whom the people call "living Buddhas," and that the provinces have acquired their own "cults of the individual."

It is common knowledge that the less Party democracy there is, the larger the Party apparatus. In no other Communist Party is the Party apparatus so colossal as in the CPC. For example, in 1960 there were more than 100 full-time Party functionaries for 3,500 Communists in the Fushun coal fields. In Anshan, there were 2,510 full-time Party functionaries and public organizations workers for every 24,000 Party members. There are 510 members and 25 full-time Party workers at the Shanghai diesel-engine plant. For 4,750 employees this plant has 600 full-time public organizations workers. Thus, there is one full-time Party leader per 25 to 40 Communists. What this means in practice can be gauged from Mao Tse-tung's injunction that a Party secretary should be a good "squad leader" (see the *Records of the Eighth National Congress*, p. 295). This view is referred to, daily guidance is taken from it, and a secretary is indeed regarded as a commander, a Party organization as a military unit, and Party life as army routine. Today one may also see the following maxim in the Chinese press: "Every first secretary is a commander-in-chief." An idea of the relations between Party leaders and the rank and

completely false one, for it is not based on an analysis and understanding of present-day reality. Everything is reduced to a schematic tedious and sterile repetition of general truths; the revolutionary factor is reduced to a phrase, to a series of quotations . . . It is very easy in this way to accuse, as the Chinese are doing, all the other parties of treachery, revisionism, of abandoning the revolutionary line, etc. We fully agree with Comrade Gomułka when he says that what is stigmatized as revisionism by Peking is in reality creative Marxism which we need today if we want to advance, to be understood, if we want to measure up to the situation and achieve success.

We must recognize the fact that for many years our movement suffered from narrow-mindedness which restricted all creative capacities. Schematism, dogmatism, the refusal to think and do something new, admiration for scholastic formulations and stereotyped phraseology, fear of the new—all this caused us serious harm. The great impetus that was given to the working-class and Communist movement by the 7th Congress of the Communist International, and which as reflected in such great movements as the Popular Front in France, the defense of Republican Spain, the united action to smash fascism, did not receive further development after the war as it should and could have.

Many positions were lost. Many possibilities for further progress were not utilized. Stagnation set in which threatened to petrify the movement had not the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union struck a decisive blow at schematism and dogmatism, discussed in a new and correct way problems that could no longer be deferred or ignored. The 20th Congress marked the beginning of a process of renovation which was to start a general struggle against schematism and for the restoration of the creative character of our thinking and our policy.

As we see it that is precisely why the Chinese comrades directed their main blow against the 20th Congress. Today they reject all its positions which they had approved of only yesterday. In other words, they reject the process of renovation which has advanced despite everything, despite the uncertainties, the delays and mistakes that existed in some countries and which could have been the cause of a profound crisis. Here too insurmountable differences exist between the positions of the Chinese comrades and the positions of the international Communist movement and, in particular, our Party.

That is why we always demanded at all international meetings that this role of the 20th Congress should be reaffirmed and underlined, overcoming the hesitation displayed in this matter, particularly by the Chinese comrades. By its 20th Congress decisions, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union once again demonstrated its role as the beacon and vanguard of the entire working-class and Communist movement.

political action, or at least on the basis of mutual understanding. This is the position which our Party unequivocally adheres to and will continue to adhere to even in the present circumstances.

Falsification of our Positions by the Chinese Leaders

At what stage of development is our movement today? The main perspectives of the struggle of the working class and the masses to establish themselves as the leading force in the new socialist society were outlined, on the basis of a scientific analysis of capitalist society in the classics of Marx and Engels. They were supplemented and further developed by Lenin on the basis of an exact analysis of imperialism, its nature and the laws of its development. In the space of a little less than a hundred years the prophecy of the *Communist Manifesto* and the subsequent precise precepts and prevision of Lenin, which to some might have seemed inconceivable, have become a reality in our day.

The working classes have established themselves as the leading force of the new society; imperialism no longer holds undivided sway; the system of colonial slavery has not been able to withstand the pressure and revolutionary onslaught of tens of millions of peoples. A large part of the world is still under the domination of capitalism and imperialism, but even in some of the capitalist countries rapid and profound changes are taking place, broad mass movements are under way through which the working classes seek to alter the economic and political structure of the old society and thus clear the way to becoming the leading force of society. A struggle is under way embracing all spheres of international life, politics, the economy and culture.

It is clear that this struggle pursues a single, common aim which unites the entire movement. Namely, to end capitalist exploitation, defeat imperialism and achieve the triumph of socialism which henceforth is delineated in its historically concrete perspective. But it is equally clear that the spheres of struggle, of advance in the various parts of the world and in the various countries are different from each other, hence the immediate concrete aim must be diverse as must the forms of action and advance. Moreover, we are living in a world that is in constant change because the conditions of resolving many problems are rapidly changing, or have already changed.

In this situation the paramount task of the revolutionary movement is not to lose touch with this reality which is in constant change, to try to understand it in all its aspects, and to adapt our searches and views, to take issue with our opponents, determine our aims and trends of work accordingly.

This is the main point at issue in our differences of principal with the Chinese comrades. Their interpretation of our policy is, in fact, a

file is given by the so-called *huipao* system which grossly contradicts Marxist-Leninist concepts of Party life. According to this system, every Communist regularly reports to his secretary on his work and life. In doing so he must abide by Mao Tse-tung's dictum: "If you know, say so; if you say, say everything. There is no reproach to him who cautions, but a precept to him who heeds." In other words, a Communist is demanded to confess everything, including his sentiments, doubts, etc., and not only his own, but also those of the people he meets. Advertised as the leaders' "solicitude" for Party members but in reality a legalized system of denunciation, *huipao* creates an oppressive atmosphere in Party organizations and produces adulators, slanderers and careerists.

The same aim is pursued by the method of educating people by the positive examples of those who are "boundlessly devoted to the ideas of Mao Tse-tung," a method designed to substitute criticism and self-criticism.

Only a few years ago the CPC leaders criticized the views and style of work, alien to Marxism-Leninism, that were current in the Party: "subjectivism in ideology, red-tape in work, and sectarianism in organization" (*The Eighth National Congress of the CPC*, p. 5). Today, no trace is left of the criticism of these vices, which have assumed incomparably greater dimensions. The CPC leaders prefer slander against fraternal parties to honest self-criticism. But this method has never helped to resolve internal problems.

Development of a Communist party into a Party of the whole people is an objective law. The socialist nature of the People's Republic of China will lead to a situation where, with the growth of the productive forces, with further changes in the social structure of society, this law will make its way in China as well. The present leadership of the CPC is hampering this process. But people cannot revoke the laws of social development of their own free will. The time will come when there will be inscribed, in the history of the CPC, pages wrathfully condemning those who in their time wanted to supplant Marxism-Leninism by a petty-bourgeois nationalist ideology, to reverse the march of history.

LETTER FROM CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY TO CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA*

Dear Comrades,

As you are no doubt aware, our Party has taken a firm principled stand on the question of the differences that have arisen between the leaders of the Communist Party of China and the world Communist movement. Our position rests on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the joint decisions of the Moscow Meetings of 1957 and 1960. At the same time, our attitude in this question derives from the experience of the German revolutionary working-class movement over the years, the experience of struggle against Right and Left-opportunism, the needs of our present-day struggle to combat West-German imperialism and militarism, and also our firm faith in the recognized vanguard of the international Communist movement—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee led by Comrade N. S. Khrushchov.

In the interests of the unity of the world Communist movement and in order to avoid exacerbating the differences unnecessarily, our Party has displayed maximum restraint in the public polemic. For this reason we welcomed the proposal to end the public debate made by Comrade Khrushchov on behalf of the CPSU at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in 1963—a proposal prompted by a high sense of responsibility for the unity of the revolutionary working-class movement and the socialist states—and we have abided by this proposal. Although the mounting attacks by the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party against the general line adopted at the Moscow Meetings of 1957 and 1960 have compelled us to ask ourselves again and again whether we ought not to reply publicly, our Party, even at its 1963 Congress, refrained from open debate.

It was only when the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party began to conduct the polemic in an increasingly virulent form and intensified its insulting sallies against the CPSU and many other fraternal parties, resorting to the open circulation of its materials through legal channels with the aid of the Federal German authorities which are persecuting our Party—it was only then that we felt compelled to come out openly against these sallies and to set forth

times, the strange inventions and falsification of our Party's position in the present international debate, I think that we can simply regard them with a sense of ironic tolerance. All kinds of things have been said about us. To Saragat we are the most Chinese among the revolutionaries of the West. To others we are the most abject servants of Moscow and Khrushchov. To others still we have become, strangely enough, "conciliators" with the Chinese position.

Let us make an honest attempt to see the situation in its proper light. Our Party, far from being conciliatory or confused, has always been among the first parties which most decisively combated and rejected the position of the Chinese comrades. This was proved first of all at the meeting of the 81 parties when we explicitly reserved our opinion regarding the propositions in the resolution adopted which made unjustified concessions to the Chinese positions. This is evident from the documents published by us and which everybody can obtain. Later, and especially after the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, the polemic developed and the Chinese began their attacks, referring ambiguously to "certain parties" and "certain persons" who were accused of revisionism and much else. We therefore considered it necessary at our 10th Congress and, as a matter of fact already during the preparations for the congress, to put an end to this game, hardly a serious one, and unhesitatingly criticized and rejected the attitude of the Chinese Party on the most important points. The polemic was public and we subsequently became one of Peking's favourite targets for its attacks.

We replied to these attacks calmly and resolutely, reaffirming all our positions. At the same time, however, we openly raised the question of the unity of the international working-class, Communist and Socialist movements, stressing that this unity is precious and indispensable for the victory of our cause, and also that it must be achieved and defended regardless of the diversity of the situations and political developments in the individual countries, and without impinging on the autonomy of the Communist and Workers' parties whose duty it is to conduct the struggle for our common aims with due regard to this diversity. Our position was expounded and exhaustively argued in public statements by our leaders and subsequently in the resolution adopted by our Central Committee at its meeting of October 24, 1963. The resolution criticized and rejected the strategic and tactical orientation endorsed in the documents of the Chinese comrades and expounded the correct Marxist-Leninist concept regarding the advance to socialism in present-day conditions. As for the ways of overcoming the present differences, we made explicit reservations regarding the proposal to convene an international meeting to condemn the Chinese position. On the contrary, we stressed the advisability of giving further consideration to the problems under discussion between the interested parties with a view to reaching effective unity on the basis of further critical examination and

**Freies Volk*, May, 1964

fact. It is strange that they do not see, or pretend not to see, that their activity, aimed at discrediting and splitting the Communist parties, that their violent struggle and smear campaign directed against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Comrade Khrushchov are being used today by the propagandists of imperialism. When Marx and Lenin took issue with the opportunist or extremist trends in the working-class movement, the press of the big bourgeoisie never became the mouthpiece for their polemics or gave publicity to their arguments, as the reactionary press is doing today in regard to the Chinese attacks. This is further proof that Marx and Lenin acted in the interests of the revolutionary movement and its unity, which cannot be said of the actions of the Chinese comrades.

It may well be that the reactionary groups and leading conservative circles with their social-democratic, clerical or pseudo-democratic fellow-travellers think that our present international debate signifies a great crisis in the Communist and Socialist movement. But something quite different is happening. What is happening is that the socialist and Communist movement has reached the stage in its development when it has to tackle not only the task of elaborating theory and determining the perspective or objective development, the task of action and advance in different countries and sectors; it also has to tackle the task of realizing its own perspectives and aims on a world scale, the task of advancing, facing and resolving the problems that are of importance to the whole world. History shows that all ideological and practical movements developed and drew inspiration in profound debates, particularly when they reached the stage of their affirmation and development on a world scale.

If fresh proof of this truth is needed let our enemies and opponents, and also our luke-warm friends, note the fact that our debate concerns not only the problem of the struggle for progress which is being waged in the most diverse spheres and in all parts of the world. Let them note the fact that in all these spheres, despite the diversity of positions and situation, despite the difficulties, the resistance, the sharp counter-attacks of the enemy, and despite even our weaknesses and mistakes, we, Communists, are in the van of the fight for progress and peace, in the fight to change the economic and political structure of contemporary society and have new classes head this society. Let them convince themselves through reality. Our movement, despite internal differences, despite the fact that it debates its problems, and very sharply at times, is a movement before which all the principal roads of historical development are open, a movement which wants to explore these roads thoroughly in order to advance along them with greater assurance. The support given us by tens and hundreds of millions of people, the sympathy and hopes with which we are regarded throughout the world, confirms us in our belief.

As concerns the clamor that has been raised, and which still con-

our viewpoint with utmost clarity; this we did in the Statement of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee issued in August 1963 and the decision of the Second Plenary Meeting of our Central Committee at the end of 1963. After all, you cannot fail to realize what it means for a party outlawed by a monopoly government to find its policy attacked by the leadership of a fraternal party in documents circulated with the aid of that very government.

In the decision of the Second Plenary Meeting of our Central Committee we once again endorsed the proposal to terminate the public polemic in the interests of the unity of the world Communist movement and to create a favorable atmosphere for thoroughly thrashing out the differences.

Exercising the greatest self-restraint, we refrained even in the past few months from conducting the controversy in public, for we hoped that the leadership of the Communist Party of China would finally heed the insistent appeals addressed to it by many fraternal parties, including our own Party.

However, our hopes were cruelly disappointed. We now find ourselves faced with the following situation: your documents containing attacks on the general line of the world Communist movement, outrageous slander against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and many other fraternal parties, and also attacks on the policy of our own Party, are being circulated on an increasing scale with the active support of the reactionary Bonn state machine. We are in possession of sufficient incontrovertible proof that the Department for the Protection of the Constitution, a police organization which specializes in the persecution of all peace-loving, democratic and socialist movements, is directly engaged in the planned distribution of your materials. This same department is also working to activate the few insignificant Trotskyite groups, which are being supplied with materials issued by the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and are instigated to carry on disruptive and subversive work within our Party. We have evidence that the Department for the Protection of the Constitution has set up a special division to study the question of how to utilize the policy of the Chinese Party leadership for the purpose of: (a) subverting the Communist Party of Germany; (b) preventing united action by Social Democrats and Communists and co-operation among all democratic forces; (c) stepping up psychological warfare against the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union.

This activity on the part of the political police of the Federal Republic has assumed such proportions and become so obvious that the liberal bourgeois journal *Der Spiegel* has commented on it in some detail.

In view of this situation the Central Committee of our Party has

once again examined the question of whether to continue to abide by our decision to end the public debate when you continue to attack the general line of the world Communist movement in a form that has long since exceeded all permissible bounds. It is with a feeling of deep outrage that we read in your materials the type of slanderous assaults on the CPSU and many other fraternal parties which have hitherto emanated only from the imperialist enemies of the working-class movement. We have also been greatly shocked by the attempt in your materials to justify a split in the world Communist movement as allegedly inevitable, openly to intervene in the internal affairs of the fraternal parties, and, with the help of Trotskyite and other elements, to create factions in the various Communist parties, including our own Party. We find equally reprehensible your undisguised support of the disruptive groupings which have long been waging a struggle against the Communist parties.

We should like to repeat here once again that we emphatically reject the slander which the leadership of the Communist Party of China is levelling at the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee and Comrade Khrushchov. Fraternal militant co-operation with the CPSU is a cherished tradition of the CPG, and it will never allow the Party of Lenin to be vilified and insulted in its hearing. The decisions of the 20th, 21st and 22nd congresses of the CPSU were an outstanding contribution to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and gave new and powerful impetus to the entire international Communist movement. The significance of the 20th Congress was duly recognized by the entire world Communist movement in the 1957 and 1960 documents.

Dear Comrades! The Central Committee of our Party would like once again to make an earnest and insistent appeal to you to abandon the path of attacks and slander, the path of irrational exacerbation of the debate and interference in the internal affairs of fraternal parties. No one who is really concerned for the unity of the international Communist movement will interpret this appeal as a plea to avoid discussion of issues which are urgently in need of clarification. On the contrary, it is precisely in the interests of such clarification that the open polemic should be terminated and a businesslike atmosphere created free of irresponsible attacks.

As the leaders of a great socialist country you bear a very great responsibility for the preservation and consolidation of the unity of the socialist camp, for the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces.

We are firmly convinced that the leadership of the Communist Party of China will be guilty of a grave transgression against history and against the interests of their own people if it continues to carry on the open polemic and to persist in the policy of splitting the world Communist movement.

comrades to terminate the polemics or the more recent Roumanian proposals. However on the basis of the documents known to us it is our conviction that the Chinese comrades are not acting in good faith towards the other parties. It seems to us that they are following the method of opportunist diplomacy, aiming to assure themselves positions of advantage by refusing or inexplicably delaying giving exact, unequivocal answers. This is a rather serious and significant matter. If the Chinese leaders had really wanted to wage a struggle to save, as they say, the revolutionary movement from opportunism they would have acted quite differently, would have rejected these fraudulent methods which are not worth anything.

All this has led to the aggravation of the situation inside the international working-class and Communist movement, has created a serious threat to its unity and struck a blow at the confidence the millions of working people have in the revolutionary movement. It is therefore right and necessary that we, like the other Communist and Workers' parties, should attentively examine this new situation and the dangers inherent in it, that we should take our decisions or reaffirm decisions already taken, both as regards the substance of the questions and the method we think should be followed to safeguard and, in the future, to restore the unity of the entire movement. As you know, the proposal is made again in Comrade Suslov's report to hold an international meeting similar to the 1960 meeting of the 81 parties. Several parties, and in the first place the French Communist Party, favor convening such a meeting. Others, like us, have on the contrary expressed their doubts, or are still considering the question. It would be advisable once more to express our viewpoint about this meeting (about which incidentally we have already publicly stated our position) in the light of the present situation.

The Italian Communist Party and the Polemic With the Chinese Comrades

However before proceeding any further, we must rid ourselves of the accumulative effect of the anti-Communist propaganda spread by all kinds of opponents and enemies of the revolutionary working-class movement with the object of causing confusion, provocations and reactionary agitation, and who in their campaign pursue two aims: on the one hand to have people believe that the Communist movement is on the brink of a terrible crisis and, on the other, to speculate on the positions of our Party, falsifying them in order to discredit us. The ultimate purpose of this campaign is clear. By sowing confusion, through inventions and falsifications often of a shameless character, to strike a blow at the vanguard forces of progress, democracy and peace. . . .

We would like to draw the attention of the Chinese leaders to this

policy. It all amounts to a repetition of the outworn arguments characteristic of the Chinese polemic, arguments which are far removed from the existing situation and tasks of the day. In the article in question, however, they are supposed to theoretically substantiate the necessity for a split in the revolutionary movement. Attacks are made accordingly against the Soviet leaders and especially against Khrushchov, which in their violence exceed all bounds, and the demand even made that the leadership of the CPSU be changed and also its policy.

It was necessary to answer this and Comrade Suslov did so at a meeting of the Central Committee on February 15. The other parties were informed of this report, but it was not published immediately because it was not clear just then whether the Chinese leaders would agree, or not, to end the public polemic.

It was then, in fact that the leadership of the Roumanian Workers' Party took the initiative and asked the Soviet leaders to postpone publication of Suslov's report and decided to send a delegation of their own to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in order to secure, through mediation, the termination of the open polemic. Their initiative did not yield positive results.

When, upon their return to Bucharest from Peking and after their meeting with Soviet leaders, the Roumanian leaders tried once again to follow up their initiative by making a new concrete proposal, the Chinese press renewed its violent attacks against the political line of the CPSU and the other Communist parties regarding the possibility of the peaceful development of the revolutionary working-class movement. We published a comprehensive resumé of this article which gives the comrades a chance to see that the Chinese as always, develop their polemics, not on the basis of a political analysis, an examination of the current situation and its perspectives in the different countries, but in accordance with their usual criterion, that of repeating quotations, falsifying our positions and repeating their accusations of revisionism, treachery, etc.

The publication of Comrade Suslov's report was therefore inevitable. As the comrades know, it contains a comprehensive, documented and reasoned confutation of the Chinese positions which were vigorously rejected. During his recent visit to Hungary and his meetings with the Polish comrades, Comrade Khrushchov exposed and denounced these positions. The report of Comrade Suslov should be widely circulated, studied, commented upon and discussed in the ranks of our Party. It contains a clear exposition of the line upheld by the CPSU in the international movement, in the dispute with the Chinese comrades. We are in agreement with this line in substance.

We might note here that we do not know what exactly was the position of the Chinese leaders regarding the proposals of the Soviet

Therefore we earnestly appeal to you once again to end the open debate and the dispatch of materials to Western Germany which run counter to the line of our Party and the decisions of the Moscow Meetings in order that the differences of opinion might be thrashed out in a sober atmosphere and in the comradely form customary among Communists.

With Communist greetings,

MAX REIMANN,
First Secretary, Central Committee,
Communist Party of Germany.
February 27, 1964

MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO STRENGTHENING OF WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

STATEMENT* OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY
OF GERMANY ON REPORT OF COMRADE M. A. SUSLOV AT
PLENARY MEETING OF CC, CPSU ON FEBRUARY 14, 1964.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany addressed a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, in which it set forth the principled standpoint of the Communist Party of Germany with regard to the differences between the Marxist-Leninist parties and the leaders of the Communist Party of China, suggesting once again that they desist from the public polemic and disruptive activity. This letter, prompted by a sense of high responsibility for the unity of the world Communist movement and the need to defend the jointly adopted decisions, was, however, left unanswered.

Contrary to common sense and to proletarian discipline, ignoring the dangers threatening the international working-class movement, and with the plaudits of the West-German reactionaries and revenge-seekers, the CPC leaders went on with the polemic and even developed it into an unbridled campaign of slander against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee and Comrade

*Freies Volk, May 1964.

Khrushchev, and against the Marxist-Leninist leadership of other Communist and Workers' parties.

Therefore the Central Committee of the CPG approves the publication of Comrade Suslov's report "Struggle of the CPSU for the Unity of the World Communist Movement" and the resolution on this report adopted by the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee on February 15, 1964. It recommends that all Party organizations thoroughly study these materials and distribute them among all sections of the population, especially among the Social Democrats and trade unionists.

The publication of these materials is a further major contribution enhancing the strength of the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism and, therefore, an inestimable aid in the struggle of all Communist and Workers' parties against imperialism and war, for peace, democracy and socialism. These materials serve to promote the unity and solidarity of the international Communist movement and provide the Communist and Workers' parties everywhere with a new political and ideological weapon in the struggle for the accomplishment of their tasks.

These documents show once again that the CPSU, and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Khrushchev, is the most experienced and mature Marxist-Leninist Party which displays wisdom, competence, self-control and firm adherence to principle in all situations, and is, therefore, a model for all Communist and Workers' parties.

The strong ties between all Communist and Workers' parties and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, their fidelity to the jointly agreed decisions of 1957 and 1960, to the decisions of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU are the guarantee of victory in the struggle for peace, peaceful coexistence and socialism the world over.

UNITY OF INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS AND COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

REPORT* BY COMRADE PALMIRO Togliatti TO THE JOINT
PLenary MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND
CENTRAL AUDITING COMMISSION OF THE ITALIAN
COMMUNIST PARTY.

As you know, during the closing months of last year there was a certain abatement in the polemics. During that period the leaders of the CPSU and notably Comrade Khrushchev on repeated occasions voiced the desire and proposed that an end be put to the bitter public polemic. This would have made it possible to discuss matters calmly, in the course of which agreement could have been reached, thus avoiding the danger of an open break and thereby reinforcing the unity of the international working class and Communist movement. In conformity with these proposals the Soviet comrades, from July 1963 onwards, abstained from publishing new polemical materials, confining themselves to the publication in December 1963 of a volume containing the materials that had been written in the previous months. We, like all the other parties in agreement with the position adopted by the Soviet leaders, likewise abstained for a certain time from continuing the polemics in the hope that this would open the way to contacts that would benefit unity, and that the dialogue between the parties would be conducted along reasonable and fruitful lines. It should be noted, however, that the Chinese comrades took an entirely different line of conduct. They expounded their positions in a 25-point program published in the summer of 1963. A fitting answer was given to them. Moreover, they continued to circulate materials criticizing and attacking the line of conduct of the Communist parties, to form small factional and disruptive groups in different countries.

All this notwithstanding, a kind of truce was reached, if only a partial one, at the beginning of the year. It was broken at the beginning of February, when a most violent article was published in the Chinese press and then broadcast and circulated in all countries, in which the leaders of the CPSU were accused of deliberately provoking a split in the world Communist movement by their "revisionist"

*L'Unità, April 23, 1964. Abridged.